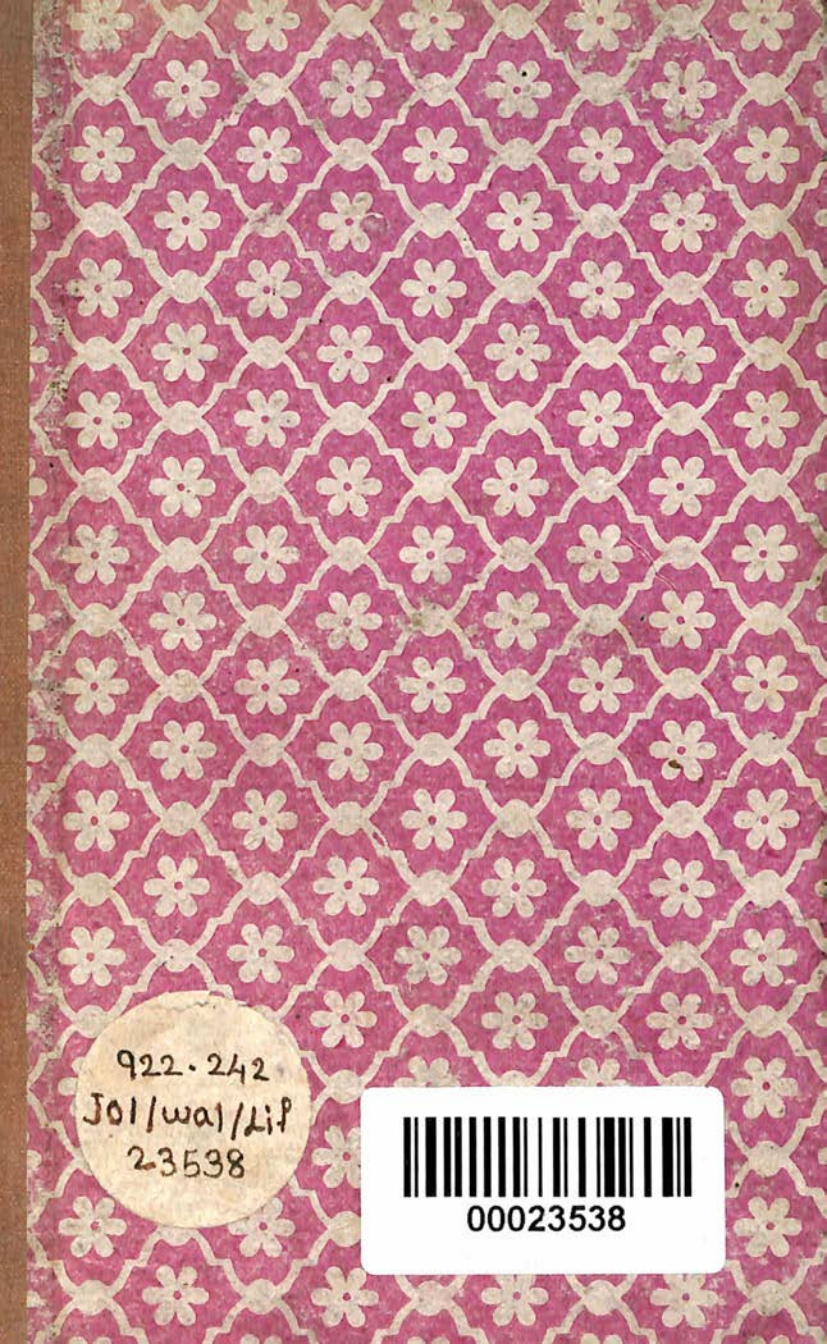
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THE LIFE OF BISHOP JOLLY.

THE LIFE

OF

THE RIGHT REVEREND

ALEXANDER JOLLY, D.D.,

BISHOP OF MORAY.

Second Edition,
CONSIDERABLY ENLARGED.

BY

THE REVEREND WILLIAM WALKER, M.A.,
MONYMUSK.

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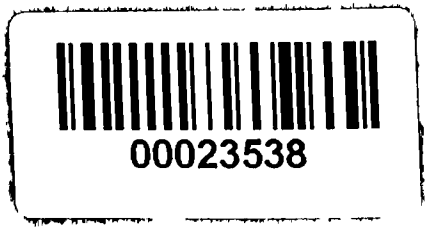
"The Righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance."—PSALM cxii. 6.

EDINBURGH: DAVID DOUGLAS.
1878.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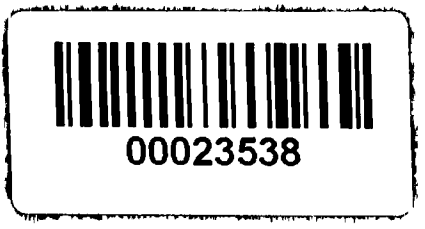
ERRATA.

p. 56, line ninth from bottom of page, for "paten" read "chalice".

p. 65, line seventh from top, for "separated" read "departed".

p. 150, line tenth from bottom, for "unwordly" read "unworldly".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PREFACE.

THE North-East Coast of Scotland, of which Aberdeen is the educational centre, has long, and especially since the Revolution of 1688, been the stronghold of Scotch Episcopacy. Till quite lately, Aberdeen had, like England, its two Universities, and throughout Scotland there was scarcely a single Episcopal Clergyman of native birth who did not bear a northern name, and write after it M.A. (King's or Marischal College), Aberdeen. So late as 1830-38, all the six Bishops of the Church belonged to the North-East or Aberdeen district, and three of them lived within the County and Diocese of Aberdeen. Everything indigenously Episcopal throughout Scotland bore the Aberdeen mark; Scotch Episcopalians, in whatever part of Scotland, looked to Aberdeenshire as the true home and centre of their faith,—"the hole of the pit whence" they had "been digged"; and it is told of one enthusiastic Bishop from the south, that he no sooner crossed the Bridge of Dee than he began to carry his head higher, and step out with a bolder stride.*

* In the South and West of Scotland, there were comparatively few Episcopalians, and the duty of toleration was as yet but very imperfectly understood there. In Conolly's *Life of Bishop Low*, it is related that the Bishop, "passing by a hedge which

Thus it has happened, that in the annals of post-Revolution Scotch Episcopacy, the history of the Church has been, to a great extent, the history of Aberdeen men; and conversely, the history of Aberdeen men has been the history of the Church. It is impossible to write the life of any one of the more eminent of these Northern men, without giving a pretty full account of every event of importance that happened within his Church during his lifetime. Hence it follows that, apart from their proper interest as biographies, the lives of these men may be made to serve the very desirable purpose of diffusing a knowledge of Church history among a large class of readers who would never think of opening a regular work on the subject.

Nor should the interest of the lives be confined merely to Scotland, or Scotch Episcopalians. The annals of the down-trodden Episcopal remnant at the period chiefly embraced in this volume, when they at last began to struggle into toleration, and "repair the waste places," have a deep interest, not only for the lover of "primitive truth and order," but also for the friend of religious

separated him from a number of workmen who had observed his approach, overheard their subdued expressions of dislike, and the more violent of the number actually proposed to fling stones at him, remarking that 'It was not right to let such creatures live on the earth'; but the remonstrance of another, who resided near Pittenweem (the Bishop's place of residence), that 'this was a quiet, inoffensive body, though he was a Prelatist,' saved him from so rough and dangerous a salute, and he passed on in safety". Nothing of the sort, probably, ever happened in Aberdeenshire.

liberty; and some of their leading men, especially Bishop Jolly,—

Ille antiquorum talis imago Patrum,—

deserve to rank, if not with the greatest Prelates, yet with the greatest Saints, of any age or Church—with the Kens and Wilsons, the Leightons, and the Bernard Gilpins, who "shall be had in everlasting remembrance". The great interest and value of Bishop Jolly's unique primitive example has been freely recognised by eminent members of other Anglican Churches. Bishop Hobart said he would have "held himself greatly rewarded" had he "gone from America to Aberdeen and seen nothing but Bishop Jolly". Thirty years ago, the present distinguished Bishop of Lincoln expressed a hope that certain materials for a biography of Bishop Jolly might not be lost, as "his history belongs to the records of primitive Christianity, on account of the devout simplicity of his character".* In his lectures on the Church of Scotland, delivered in Edinburgh in 1872, Dean Stanley selected Bishop Jolly "as a choice specimen of the Old Episcopalian Clergy". The late eminent Dean of Chichester, Dr. Hook, wrote of him, as early as 1825, as the vener-

* "After the English service walked to Bishop Luscombe's, No. 19 Rue des Vignes, Champs Elysées. The Bishop spoke with great interest of Bishops Gleig and Jolly, whose portraits he has, and also many of their letters. It is to be hoped that the materials he possesses for the biography of Bishop Jolly, whose history belongs to the records of primitive Christianity, on account of the devout simplicity of his character, may not be lost."—*Diary in France*, p. 11.

able primitive and Apostolic Bishop of Moray"; and having only a few months before his death read the small first edition of this Memoir, he wrote to the writer of it, advising him to enlarge the sketch and have it brought out by a London publisher, as then "it would obtain circulation and do good".*

Fortunately the writer had just come into possession of a mass of materials most serviceable for the enlargement of the sketch, including—1st, The Torry collection, or the letters received during a period of about sixty years by the late Bishop Torry from Bishop Jolly, and other Bishops and Presbyters. For the use of this collection the writer is indebted to the kindness of the venerable Dean Torry of St. Andrews. 2nd, Twelve packets of autograph copies of Bishop Jolly's most important letters, during the earlier years of his Priesthood, and the latter and more important half of his Episcopate, and some of his private prayers, memoranda, &c. For this invaluable aid—obtained from the Jolly collection at Glenalmond—and for other like services, the writer is indebted to the courtesy of Dr. Dowden, Pantonian Professor of Theology, Edinburgh. 3rd, Additional particulars of interest from other contributors, especially from the Rev. Charles Pressley—the very intimate and esteemed friend of the Bishop, whom, in fact, he first assisted, and then succeeded, in the Fraserburgh Charge.

* See also the lines on Bishop Jolly in the Rev. Isaac Williams' *Thoughts in Past Years*, p. 122, second edition.

The unpublished letters—and not least those of Bishop Jolly's Episcopal brethren—not only supply new matter, but throw much light on the old. In particular, they bring out very distinctly the great influence produced on the Church by Bishop Jolly, through sheer weight of character.

In order to interweave the fresh matter, it has been found necessary to re-write the whole Memoir; but the writer has endeavoured, as much as possible, to avoid adding to the bulk of the volume.

Not a few of Bishop Jolly's letters would, if printed *in extenso*, be very interesting to a certain class of readers; but the extracts from them have mostly been confined to such short passages as are of general and permanent interest, or are strikingly illustrative of the venerable writer's character.

INTRODUCTION.

For some readers a few introductory words may be desirable on the previous history of the disestablished Episcopal Church. According to the most trustworthy recent historians, whether Episcopal or Presbyterian,* the ecclesiastical state of Scotland at the Revolution of 1688, was not such as to warrant the establishment of any one Church. If the existing Establishment was to be pulled down, no other should have been set up. There should have been complete equality before the law of all Churches and Sects; and if any one Church was endowed, all should have been endowed concurrently, as is now the case in France.

It was not simply that the Episcopalians were nearly, if not altogether, as numerous as the Presbyterians, though undoubtedly as a whole less zealous; they were also to a great extent located by themselves in one end of the country. The North, especially the North-East, was chiefly Episcopalian; while the South-East was chiefly Moderate Presbyterian, and the South-West Cameronian. "Had the religious powers in the country been permitted with some modification and restraint to adjust themselves," says Dr. Hill Burton, "Episcopacy would have prevailed

* Dr. Grub, Dr. Cunningham (Crieff), and Dr. Hill Burton.

north of the Tay; in Fife, and along the East coast a Moderate Presbyterianism might have developed itself. The western shires would have been such as they have described themselves in the quotations made in these pages from their testimonies,"—*i.e.*, Cameronian.*

But to permit the religious powers to "adjust themselves," was what no Church, no party, and probably no individual in Scotland at that time ever dreamt of doing. There was no idea of toleration. The Church should be one, and it must be so, if not by agreement, then by compulsion. The North must now be concussed into agreement with the South, as formerly the South had been concussed into agreement with the North. Thus the Episcopalians not only failed to obtain concurrent endowment or justice in any shape from the dominant powers in Scotland, but they would not from them have obtained bare toleration. William of Orange, however, insisted on their obtaining "an indulgence similar to that which was enjoyed by the Dissenters in England."† Anne was still more favourable;

* *History of Scotland*, Vol. I. (from Revolution), p. 263. See also Dr. Cunningham's account of the General Assembly of Jan. 15, 1692. "Its sederunt of the Northern Synods is a perfect blank. Some have attributed this to the length of the road, &c., . . . But a much better reason for no Presbyterians coming from the north, is simply that there were no Presbyterians to come. The septentrional regions of the country were almost entirely Episcopal." History, II. 298. See also Grub, III. pp. 315-16-17.

† See Macaulay's *History* IV.—186. "The Presbyterian preachers were loud and vehement against lenity to Amalekites. Melville shrank from uttering a word so hateful to the theological demagogues of his country, as Toleration."

and but for the attempts of 1715 and 1745 to restore the Stuarts, the Northern Episcopalians would, as Dissenters, have occupied an exceptionably favourable position. These risings, however, one after the other, wrought a complete and disastrous change. Most of the Episcopalians sympathised with the Jacobite cause, either from principle, or from interest, or from both. Many of them gave it their open and active support. All of them were punished for it, directly or indirectly. It was at their religion that the Government in its acts of repression chiefly struck, evidently regarding their religion as the root of their disaffection, and it struck hard. Its enactments—exceptionally barbarous for the 18th century, seemed to aim at extermination. Its agents began by burning the chapels of the Episcopalians, wherever they could be burnt without risk to adjacent property, and where the burning of a chapel endangered the loss of a street, they compelled the Episcopalians to pay men to pull down their own chapels.* Government finally (1748), passed an Act which virtually proscribed altogether the public worship of Non-juring Episcopalians—forbidding more than five persons (or four and a family), to meet together for worship.

(1.) Thus, besides disestablishment, one consequence to the Episcopalians of their long and unshrinking witness to the Stuart cause, was to bring down upon them a crushing and disabling persecution from the State.

* As at Peterhead.—See *Bishop Gleig*, Chap. I.

(2.) A second consequence was to strengthen, and make inveterate * a notion which through the persecutions of the Jameses and Charleses had got rooted in the ordinary Scottish mind, that there was a natural affinity between Episcopacy and despotic government, and that the ecclesiastical rule under the Stuarts was the natural rule of the Bishops.

(3.) A third consequence was the derangement of the Church's administrative machinery, and the indefinite postponement of any effectual attempts to adapt it to a state of disestablishment. The exiled King's authority was still recognised. The Church and State Government was regarded as only suspended, and so the actual administration was looked upon as merely provisional, and all important arrangements and appointments, as only temporary and incomplete. In 1705, after consultation with the exiled court, two Bishops were consecrated in order to continue the succession and perform the necessary Episcopal offices; but they received no local jurisdiction or appointment to any particular dioceses. This in the Church and State theory, could not be done in the abeyance of the lawful Civil Government.

The Episcopal College went on recruiting itself in this way for nearly 40 years after the Revolution, consulting with the agent of the exiled Court, selecting a Presbyter,

* "Bishops, no matter of what sort are hereditarily odious to him (the Scotsman). It was they who squeezed his thumbs and legs a few years ago."—Lord Cockburn to Mrs. Fletcher, Nov., 1850.

consecrating him and adding him to their number whenever they thought proper; and as a body they governed the whole Church. They seemed to regard themselves as the representatives of both Church and State, and they certainly ruled after the centralised fashion of the Stuart Church and State. It may be supposed that to abolish a system of this sort, when once thoroughly established, was a very slow and difficult work. And so it proved. Professedly the College system was abolished by concordat in 1732, but to root it out entirely, in fact and in practice, demanded the efforts of nearly another hundred years. The diocesan system was nominally restored. Each diocese had its Bishop, and the clergy had by canon the election of him; but the College retained such an unlimited power of review and of dispensation, that after all, everything may be said to have depended upon it. There was no check upon the College, for there was no law in the Church except a few canons framed chiefly for determining the relations of the Bishops towards each other, and there was far from a sufficiency even of these. The Bishops seemed to wish to keep affairs always in a provisional state, settling every matter as it came up by a majority of the votes of their number. When in 1746 persecution set in with unmitigated rigour, all attempts at reform were indefinitely postponed. The utmost that could be done then for many years was to keep the Church in existence—*rester debout*—to secure in some way the performance of the most indispensable services, and prevent the complete dispersion of the devoted remnant.

The two eminent men whose memoirs follow, were born at the period of the Church's very greatest depression (1753-6), the severest penal enactment having been lately passed (1748). Twenty years afterwards when they took orders in the Church, the fury of persecution was spent, and the Church had begun to rally. Twenty years more, however, had yet to elapse notwithstanding the decline of Jacobitism both as a cause and a theory, before the first effective step towards progress was taken by such an abjuration of Jacobitism as secured the passing of a Relief Bill. Another long period passed before the Church fully complied with the requirements of the Relief Bill by adopting the English Articles as its standard of doctrine. From that period (1804), the middle point of the long public life of Bishops Jolly and Gleig—the Church took a new departure. It had now a fair field, and by the union of the qualified congregations, a considerable accession of numbers. There is observable also now the gradual drying up of a fruitful source of dissension, due doubtless to the late comparative freedom from doctrinal restraints, —viz., the tendency to free speculation in deep mysteries after the manner of the 4th and 5th centuries. On the other hand a new element of division was introduced. There were now "two nations struggling" in the Church's "womb," the Non-jurors, and the Anglicans—the former walking by their own traditions, clinging especially to their own communion office, and taking for sole model and pattern the primitive Church, the latter looking chiefly to

the existing English Church for their type of Churchmanship and their supply of Clergy, and in fact regarding themselves as English rather than as Scottish Churchmen. This state of things was unfavourable to progress. There was little sympathy between the two classes of Churchmen, and little corporate spirit and still less corporate action in the Church.

These obstacles might have been greatly smoothed down had there been in the Church any such institutions as General Councils or Conventions, periodically bringing together all orders and degrees of Churchmen to discuss, in common, their common affairs, and "provoke one another to love and good works". But every approach to the introduction of such modern expedients was resisted through fear of infringing in any way on the primitive pattern, or encroaching on the Episcopal prerogative.

As forty years have elapsed since the period which is illustrated in these memoirs, it must be comparatively easy to take a calm retrospect of the events, and to point the moral of the Church's history from the Revolution to the close of the period. The leading impressions which such a survey will leave on most candid minds will probably be these—that the little Church though on the whole very zealous and earnest, yet witnessed more effectually to its principles by suffering than by doing; and to a great extent neutralised its efforts by a somewhat exaggerated Conservatism, a stubborn clinging to temporal accidents as well as divine dogmas, and a uniform backwardness

in adapting its administrative machinery to changed times and circumstances. Such timid over cautious policy was in the circumstances very natural, almost inevitable.

The very existence of the Church was a sort of witness and protest against over reform, and it was easier in the case of such a body, than it is in most cases to represent every reform as a revolution. It was, as it were, the very mission of the Church not to go with the times, but to witness against them. Now it was not to be expected that with such timid action and slow movement, the Church could make much impression on the mass of the Scotch people. It also failed, however, adequately to utilise the zeal of its own members, and develop its own resources.

This seems to be the point in which our fathers—excellent and much tried men—chiefly failed, a too timid, negative, and passive policy. Each generation can generally learn most from the failures of the generation immediately preceding it. It is very possible, however, in this case to exaggerate the effect of our fathers' over cautious policy. The Church was so circumstanced that no line of policy could probably have greatly accelerated its progress. It had been reduced to a mere fraction of the native Scotch population—a few tens of thousands scattered through millions; and this smallness alone formed an almost insuperable barrier to rapid and healthy progress. It added immensely to the difficulty of working any scheme, and it raised a prejudice against the Church

in the minds of the less instructed, who judge very much by appearances and results, and naturally "follow the multitude". The little church was apt to be regarded as a strange and exceptional institution—an alien and exotic body—a survival of a bygone age—eccentric in its usages, and fitted only to be the Church of a class or caste.

Since the period under review the condition of the Church has undergone considerable change,—no doubt in many respects for the better. More life and movement have been infused into it; and of late especially, effectual steps have been taken to arouse the zeal and interest of the Laity. The prospect, however, of becoming in any true sense national, and obtaining a real hold of the Scottish people cannot be said to be greatly improved. Nor can it be otherwise, probably so long as the Church depends to so great an extent, as it now does, on England for its supply of Clergy. However good the supply may be in its kind, it cannot be altogether the right kind, at least so long as the characters of the two peoples, and the positions of the two Churches, differ so much as they still do. Zeal, when not according to knowledge of the national character, works necessarily at a great disadvantage, and seldom effects much permanent good, usually repelling the mass of the community as much as it attracts a particular class. Situated as the Church is, solid and lasting progress can be at best but slow and gradual, and for many years will probably be measured rather by indirect influence than by actual extension.

BISHOP JOLLY.

CHAPTER I.—1756-1777.

Birth—Destination for the Ministry—Depressed State of Church—Jacobite Anecdotes—Marischal College, Aberdeen—Prayer used by him when a Student—Tutor in Rothie Family—Anecdotes—Bishop Petrie as "a Striker"—Reads for Orders with Bishop Petrie—Ordained—Appointed to Charge of Turriff.

In every sense of the word, as a man and a Churchman, Alexander Jolly belonged to the North-Eastern or Aberdeen district of Scotland. He was born 3rd April 1756, at Stonehaven, the county town of Kincardineshire, sixteen miles south of Aberdeen. His father, at the time of his birth, carried on business in Stonehaven; but, on falling into difficulties, he afterwards gave up his business, and sought to maintain himself by teaching, depending a good deal latterly on help from his son.* He had, probably, never been in very easy circumstances; but the proximity of the two Aberdeen Universities, with their numerous bursaries or scholarships—the lowest of which paid all the fees—made it no very difficult matter for him to give his son a good education.

He appears to have destined the youth, or, according to Bishop Walker, Alexander "devoted himself to the services of the Church from the earliest dawn of his reason".

* The elder Jolly married twice after the death of Alexander's mother, but he had no issue by his second and third marriages. Besides Alexander, he had one or two sons and one daughter by the first marriage. These, and many other particulars, not always specially acknowledged, the writer owes to Mr. Pressley.

It could only have been from the purest motives that he was so destined or devoted. The Church was then at the lowest depths of depression, and it was no sordid ambition for a parent to hope to see his son "wag his pow in a pu'pit".

Not much is known of the early life of Mr. Jolly, except that he was chiefly prepared for the University at Stonehaven School; and that he had the advantage of a careful religious training by the clergyman at Stonehaven. "He always acknowledged himself," says Bishop Walker, "much indebted, in the commencement and progress of his religious education, to the pastoral care and guidance of the Rev. Alexander Greig, Episcopal minister of his native place." Bishop Walker adds that he knew personally that Mr. Greig's "memory was long held in great and reverent respect in that quarter".

Mr. Greig was, in fact, one of those clergymen who had come through the furnace of persecution; having, in addition to the minor restraints and disabilities of the Penal Laws, endured six months' imprisonment for officiating before more than four persons at a time. A glimpse into Mr. Greig's prison life gives a better idea than mere description could of the condition of the Church at the time that Mr. Jolly was born, and of the influences that moulded his early Churchmanship.

It was in the winter of 1748-9 that Mr. Greig was imprisoned. Two of his neighbours, the Rev. John Petrie of Drumlithie, and the Rev. John Troup of Muchalls, shared with him, for the same offence, the same cell of Stonehaven Tolbooth. During their confinement they never ceased, when opportunity offered, to perform all necessary Church offices for the members of their respective flocks. They baptized children, and joined

with them in prayer and praise, both on Sundays and week-days.

Pastors and flocks were alike zealous and persistent. The fishermen's wives from Skateraw might be seen trudging along the beach with their unbaptized infants in their creels, "wading at the 'Watter Yett' the combined streams of the Carron and the Cowie, which could only be done at the reflux of the sea," then clambering over rugged rocks till they reached the back stairs of the Tolbooth, where they watched a favourable opportunity for drawing near to their pastor's cell, and securing the bestowal of the Baptismal blessing.*

"After divine service on week-days, Mr. Troup (one of the imprisoned three) entertained the audience on the bagpipes with the spirit-stirring Jacobite tunes that, more than any other cause, kept up the national feeling in favour of the just hereditary line of our natural sovereigns."†

These scenes are most characteristic of the times in which Jolly was born and brought up—especially the playing of the Jacobite airs after divine service. We see here that indomitable faith which was the life of the Church, carrying her safe through every trial; we see, along with it, that perilous mixing up of political with religious matters, which all but worked her ruin, leaving her, at the close of her hundred years' witness for the ill-starred Stuarts, with the mere framework of a Church. No doubt our good fathers would have stoutly denied that their allegiance to the "king o'er the water" was a

* Black Book of Kincardine—Stephen's History, pp. 337-8.

† *Ibid.* As Bishop Jolly used to tell the story, it was not the bagpipes, but the violin, that Mr. Troup played. No doubt he was right. Mr. Troup was, judging by the name, a Lowlander, and doubtless used the Lowland instrument.

political matter at all:—it was "a principle of Christian morality". Well: it was certainly not so easy to draw the line in such matters then as it is now.

We do not know very much of Mr. Jolly's career at the University. He gained at entrance a £5 bursary or scholarship. The bursaries at Marischal College were never large, and possibly this one may have stood pretty high in the list at that time. Small as the bursary was, its real value was probably greater than the nominal, and anyhow, as has been said, it paid all the fees.

As to Jolly's standing at the University, we are simply told that he "made good progress in his studies," and was "a good scholar". The standard at Aberdeen then was much lower than it has become in recent times, especially since the union of the Universities.* But even in those days, a good foundation was laid, and if a student had a taste for any of the branches of study, he got a grounding and an impetus that carried him on to proficiency. This was eminently the case with Mr. Jolly at least as regards the learned languages. He continued a student of languages all his life, and latterly read Greek, Latin, and Hebrew with the greatest facility. There is no proof, however, that he ever attained to proficiency in any of the physical sciences.

Characteristically enough, the only traces of his University career to be found amongst his own papers, are the prayers, which he wrote and made use of during his course. Of these there are at least two still extant, in his own handwriting—a "prayer for a student," dated July 21,

* The *Pass* or ordinary (M.A.) degree at Aberdeen is said now to be quite equal to the Pass (B.A.) at Oxford or Cambridge, though the *Class* or Honours degree is greatly inferior. Students enter Aberdeen University now, on an average, three years older than they did thirty or forty years ago.

1772; and a prayer on his birthday. The latter has no date upon it, but it is in his handwriting of the period, and it has upon the back a form of receipt for the last payment of his bursary. The prayers are excellent and appropriate, and were probably both more or less adapted by him from published forms. Such proofs of early piety enable us to understand how it was that Jolly was "venerable and venerated even in his youth".

After leaving the University, he acted for some time as tutor in the family of Mr. Leslie of Rothie, a member of the Meiklefolla congregation, which was then under the pastoral superintendence of Bishop Petrie.

Not a few interesting reminiscences of Jolly still linger in the memories of the Churchmen of the Folla district, all illustrative more or less of his piety, his gentle manners, and genuine amiability of disposition.

His pupils at Rothie appear to have been youths of gigantic proportions, veritable sons of Anak. The four brothers, with their two sisters, averaged six feet in height each, and, as a family, were usually spoken of somewhat later by the Folla people as "the sax-an'-therty feet". "Here's the sax-an'-therty feet," was the usual exclamation as they drew near the Church door on a Sunday morning.

It was only too natural that such pupils, living in a country house, and surrounded with temptations to sport and amusement, would be little amenable to the mild rule of the gentle Jolly. Accordingly, discipline got relaxed, progress slackened, and the conscientious Jolly, despairing of being ever able to restore order and diligence, made up his mind to leave.

He was spared the necessity of this extreme step by the potent intervention of Bishop Petrie. One day when the

Bishop dined at Rothie, the housekeeper gave him a hint of the critical state that matters were in. The Bishop at once acted on the hint. He stepped into the schoolroom, and asked Mr. Jolly how his pupils were getting on. The answer, though reluctantly given, let out the truth. The Bishop instantly called up the eldest boy, and, in presence of Mr. Jolly, put him to the question. The youth was overwhelmed with confusion, and confessed his disobedience. The Bishop then locked the door of the room, put the key in his pocket, and turning to Mr. Jolly, asked if he had a strap ("tards"). "Yes," was the reply, "but I never use it." "Hand it to me," said the paternal Petrie. Receiving the strap, and bidding the young Laird "hold up his hand," he rapidly administered (our readers know how) a severe and very effectual castigation. The other boys were had up in turn, and dealt with in the same summary way;—the Bishop literally "whipt them all round," the process occupying the greater part of an afternoon. He then left the room with the significant hint that he would "soon be back again". But he never needed to go back. The rebellion was crushed. The boys, having once tasted of its quality, had no desire to wake up again

The might that slumbered in a Prelate's arm.

They continued tolerably tractable, and Mr. Jolly remained at Rothie superintending their education, till he went to Meiklefolla to read for orders with Bishop Petrie. To that excellent man Mr. Jolly owed much besides this timely intervention; and to the last day of his life he could never hear or mention Bishop Petrie's name without an ardent expression of affectionate esteem. Petrie's character, with everything that was venerable, had also in it "the stalk of carle hemp," or the element of vigour, which formed the needful complement to Jolly's

own character. Had the Japanese custom of making officials always go in couples prevailed here, Petrie would have made the fitting companion for Jolly. Though Bishop Petrie occupied a very humble dwelling, he had an excellent library, having inherited that of his uncle, Bishop Alexander. He prepared many of the clergymen of that time for orders.

How long Mr. Jolly read under him does not appear; but his preparatory course came to an end about midsummer, 1776. On July 1st of that year, Mr. Jolly was ordained Deacon at Peterhead, by Bishop Kilgour of Aberdeen. As his letters all through his life prove, Jolly had always a very high idea of the responsibilities of the clerical office, and ordination was to him a very solemn event indeed. Amongst his papers there is a prayer preparatory to his ordination. Like all his prayers, this one is partly adapted from published sources (Spinckes, Prayer on Ember Weeks, &c.). It is a very comprehensive and appropriate prayer. Mr. Jolly remained in Deacons' Orders only a little more than eight months, having been raised to the Priesthood by Bishop Kilgour, on March 19th, 1777. Immediately afterwards he was appointed to the charge of the congregation at Turriff.

CHAPTER II.—1777-1784.

Ministry at Turriff — Letters — Crippled Condition of Church— Scarcity of Clergy — Communion Offertories — Book-buying— Reminiscences of him in the Turriff district—Anecdotes.

Of Mr. Jolly's "manner of life and conversation" at the commencement of his ministry, we have less detailed evidence than we have in later times, but what evidence we have is of a very emphatic and decided character. Nicholas Ferrar "got the reputation of being called St. Nicholas at the age of six years". Of Alexander Jolly it is said, on the best authority, that "those who knew him in youth remembered no time when he was not venerable". "Venerable and venerated even in his youth," are the emphatic words of his most intimate friend. There is much to corroborate this striking testimony in his letters of the period, and in the traditional anecdotes and reminiscences of him in the Turriff district.

These records all witness, each in its own way, to a character which, in a young man, was sure to attract veneration—a grave, earnest, single-minded, unworldly character—absorbed in study, in duty and devotion—rigorously professional, yet in no wise morose or reserved—as yet, in fact, in no way peculiar, exhibiting none of these rigidly strict and systematic habits and practices which latterly seemed part of his being. The letters, indeed, contain little that is in any way specially characteristic of the man. They derive their chief value and interest from the light which they throw on the state of the Church and the position of a young clergyman at that period of depression. There are extant autograph copies

of about twenty of his letters of this period. The first letter is dated St. Peter's Day, 1778—just sixty years before the close of his honoured life. The letters appear to be first draughts or scrolls, from which a clean copy was taken and despatched. They contain not a few corrections, interlineations, and alternative phrases, evidencing at once care in weighing words and inexperience in composition. Most of the letters are addressed to the Bishop of Aberdeen, whom the writer always styles "Right Reverend Father" at the commencement, and "Your Reverence" in the body of the letter. They are chiefly taken up with the affairs of his own congregation at Turriff, or those of the one or two neighbouring congregations to which, during a vacancy, he was continually ministering. The state of affairs which they disclose was, as regards externals, of a very humble and primitive style. The Church had begun to rally from its worst penal trials, but it was still in a very crippled condition. The chief difficulty was how to find a sufficient supply of Clergymen. There seemed to be a large proportion of charges vacant at all times. Sometimes they continued vacant a long time, and each had to wait its turn for a Clergyman. The vacant charges had service once a fortnight, or once a month, from each of several neighbouring Clergymen.

Then the remuneration of the Clergy was miserably inadequate. Poor as stipends are still, the Clergy of these days are paid in pounds where the Clergy of those days were paid in crowns.

From the time of his settlement at Turriff till the summer of 1778, Mr. Jolly appears to have done duty at least once a fortnight at Parkdargue (Forgue). That congregation then obtained a pastor of its own; and Jolly

was immediately detailed for occasional duty at Banff and Portsoy—two places distant respectively 11 and 19 miles —at each of which there was a vacancy. In a letter to one of his correspondents, Mr. Jolly expresses a hope that the Bishop will soon be able to settle a Clergyman *between the two.* Till now it had not been their turn. More than a year before, he says, the Portsoy people "got from the Bishop the promise of the first Clergyman at his disposal, after supplying Parkdargue, which was then vacant". Truly there was small choice of Priests in those days! It is, perhaps, to be taken as an additional proof of the scarcity of Clergymen, and the consequent irregular supply of service, that the Parkdargue people "had not been in use of communicating at Christmas". They could appreciate the privilege, however, when it was put in their offer. "I gave them," Mr. Jolly writes to the Bishop, "an opportunity at that season, and had the comfort of a congregation almost as large as what is usual there at Pentecost."

He gives a very clear account of his remuneration. "As to my temporal emoluments from the Parkdargue congregation," he says, "your Reverence ordered for me a crown out of the collection every time I officiated there, which I have duly received." The whole amounted to 55 crowns (£14 5s.), to which was added £5 "raised by private contribution of the people".

Mr. Jolly always states the amount of the communion offertories, and this, considering the higher value of money at that time, was much greater than the average amount at the present day. No doubt the Holy Communion was less frequently celebrated in those days, but making all allowances, this fact of larger offertories is a pretty sure index of larger congregations. There are,

indeed, many other proofs that most of the congregations of the Diocese of Aberdeen were then much larger than they are now, and though the number of charges is now about doubled, it is very doubtful if the aggregate of souls is increased.*

Mr. Jolly states the amount of the Easter offertory at Parkdargue at £3 5s., and that on the 21st Sunday after Trinity at £2 5s. 3d.

Judging from Mr. Jolly's practice, discipline was administered at that time with rigid strictness, serious cases being referred to the Bishop. Mr. Jolly writes to the Bishop of Aberdeen—"Your Reverence's order of Ash Wednesday, respecting the admission of George Allan and his wife to Penance, I obeyed, and have had two conferences with them, but all circumstances considered, I intend, if it please your Reverence, to put off their reconciliation till Pentecost".

In these early letters, Mr. Jolly is too much taken up with official matters to give full or frequent expression to his thoughts on general subjects. As he was also as yet a very young man, and was writing mostly to his seniors, we cannot look in his letters for those strikingly pious and devout sentiments — those fervent invocations of blessing on his correspondents and others whom he names —those earnest prayers for his correspondents, and equally earnest requests for their prayers in return—which form

* If we can believe the statistics of the time, and judge by communicants, there were as many Episcopalians in the Diocese of Aberdeen at the repeal of the Penal Laws, while there were still within it six qualified congregations outside the Church, as there are there still. Writing to the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1792, the Rev. Roger Aitken of Aberdeen said, "in the Diocese of Aberdeen, *there are 5000 communicants*". There are not quite 5000 communicants in that Diocese now. The number for the present year (1876) is given as 4953 ; souls = 10,577.

so edifying and unfailing a feature in his later letters. We can see in the letters, however, several of his chief later characteristics in the germ. There are quaint touches indicative of his great love for books. He appears to be always on the outlook for some particular book—always ready to give a commission for the purchase of one to any correspondent in a town. To a Clerical correspondent he writes—"I sincerely sympathise with you in your *disease* of buying books". The Bishop had remonstrated with him on this subject, but in vain. "Though I am well convinced," he writes, "of the goodness of your advice as to the buying of books, yet I must confess with shame I find it hard to digest, and it is the only thing wherein I would fain beg a dispensation. When I see a good book at a low price, as Marshall's *St. Cyprian* for five shillings, I cannot let it pass." Probably this was indeed "the only thing" in which the good man needed a dispensation.

In this collection there are some letters to his relations. These are all very kind and affectionate. One of them is evidently to his father, though the only address is D. F. It corroborates Mr. Pressley's statement that his father became in the end somewhat of a burden to the son. No son could do more than Mr. Jolly here promises. "I will ever be ready to do all that lies in my power (as in duty bound) for your support and comfort. My ability at present is but very small, having so much debt to discharge, which, however, I will not consider, if your necessities require my assistance, as my debt to you ought to be discharged in the first place."

In addition to Mr. Jolly's own letters, the writer has obtained some trustworthy anecdotes and reminiscences of him during his Turriff Pastorate. For these he is chiefly

indebted to an aged churchman who was "baptised by Bishop Jolly, and named after him," and had excellent opportunities of collecting reminiscences of him—Mr. Alexander Thomson, Greens, Monquhitter. Some of the anecdotes have not much interest in themselves; but they have all an interest as illustrations of the good man's character.

When he came first to Turriff, Mr. Jolly had living with him a sister, and a younger brother named James, who commenced business as a shopkeeper in the village. During the absence of Mr. and Miss Jolly, on a visit, it is supposed, to Bishop Petrie at Meiklefolla, their brother James was unfortunately drowned while bathing in the "water" of Turriff. A messenger was instantly dispatched for the bereaved brother and sister. They returned with all speed. "On his arrival, Mr. Jolly went immediately into the appartment where his brother's corpse was laid, bolted the door, and remained several hours alone with the dead body. How those hours were spent was known only to himself and to Him who is the hearer of prayer." As we shall see, this most melancholy event made a deep and lasting impression on Mr. Jolly's affectionate heart.

One day a neighbour's cow strayed into Mr. Jolly's not very well-fenced garden, and ate so voraciously that fears were expressed lest she should "burst". Miss Jolly said she hoped she would. But Mr. Jolly, rebuking this spirit in her, sent her off instantly to ascertain what state the cow was in, saying he would rather that every green thing in the garden had been eaten up than that any evil should befall the cow.

Walking one day near Turriff, he came upon a rough Turriff carter named John Edwards, in much the same

state of distress as the fabled waggoner. John's cart, laden with stones from Delgaty quarry, had stuck in a hole in the ford below the Mill. As his team consisted of a piebald pony in the shafts, and a cow in traces, John's great difficulty was to get both animals to pull together. While he, sitting on his cart, belaboured the pony, the cow, well beyond the reach of his whip, quietly browsed the tempting green grass on the brook's brink. "Can I do anything to help you, John?" said Mr. Jolly. With rough language and uncivil doubts, John indicated that Mr. Jolly might perhaps do some good, either by taking his place and "layin' upo'" the pony, while he himself urged on the cow, or by going into the water and leading out the cow. Mr. Jolly preferred dealing with the cow; so he "stepped into the ford over his shoes in water," took the cow by the halter and tugged, till, with his and John's combined exertions, the two animals put forth their united strength, and the cart was soon extricated and on dry land. John had previously spoken of Mr. Jolly as an "eeseless tarlach". He was now heard to mutter patronisingly, "There is some eese o' that minister body efter a'".

To the readers of Izaak Walton this simple incident will recall a like and equally characteristic incident in the life of good George Herbert, whom, in many respects, Mr. Jolly so much resembled.*

* In one of his walks to Salisbury, George Herbert saw a poor man with a poorer horse that was fallen under his load; they were both in distress and needed present help; which Mr. Herbert perceiving, put off his canonical coat, and helped the poor man to unload and after to load his horse. The poor man blessed him for it, and he blessed the poor man. When he came into Salisbury, one of his friends told him that he "had disparaged himself by so dirty an employment". But his answer was, "that the thought of what

Mr. Jolly would have borne very patiently an imputation on his horsemanship, though Sir Walter Scott says most men would rather bear an imputation on their morality. Yet it was necessary in those days to have some skill in riding, since, for the Clergy at least, there was no other mode of locomotion than riding or walking, even for the longest journeys. Mr. Innes of Meiklefolla rode all the way from Meiklefolla to Hawthornden to visit Bishop Abernethy Drummond on a small Highland pony.

"There's a heap o' ridin' in a borrowed beast," says our Scotch proverb; but then you must be able to take it out of him. Mr. Jolly was found one day some way out of Turriff sitting patiently on the back of a borrowed pony, which, having come to "know his rider," and once got his head down, would, in spite of his utmost exertions, keep grazing at the road side, and thus made scarce any progress. Like the man who caught the Tartar, Mr. Jolly could not get forward either with the pony or without it. He was therefore glad to take advantage of the first man that passed on his way to the village to have the pony taken back to its owner, while he himself prosecuted his journey on foot.

Riding on one occasion with some of his clerical brethren to Aberdeen to attend Synod, Mr. Jolly kept continually falling behind, to the considerable detention of the party. "Come along, Mr. Jolly," shouted one of the Brethren, "what's detaining you?" "My horse is not inclined to go faster," was the reply. "Let me get behind him with the whip," said Mr. Christie of Wood-

he had done would be music to him at midnight, and that the omission of it would have upbraided and made discord in his conscience whensoever he should pass by that place".

head, a lively, jocular brother, "and I'll soon give him another inclination."

This was a lesson in vigour, like Bishop Petrie's flagellation of the young Leslies.

On a certain Sunday, and on the occasion, it is supposed, of some ecclesiastical solemnity, Mr. Jolly and two of his clerical neighbours met at Macterry, a place where, it appears, the present congregation of Woodhead, Fyvie, formerly met for worship. After dinner, the conversation turned upon agricultural matters. This was a subject in which Mr. Jolly never probably took much interest. Having been brought up in a town, he had no practical acquaintance with it. Indeed, we have been told, that on one occasion, when questioned by some Meiklefolla farmers as to the state of the crops in his neighbourhood, he confessed that he did not know barley from oats. Nevertheless, on any other day of the week, he would probably have submitted patiently to hear his brethren "talk of bullocks" by the hour. Even on this sacred day it is not to be supposed that he would have objected to a few passing remarks on any such subject, for, as will appear hereafter, his views did not by any means approach the rigidity of Sabbatarianism. It is evident, however, that the subject had been dwelt upon at inordinate length, to the exclusion, of course, of subjects of a more appropriate and edifying nature; for it is said that Mr. Jolly, after a lengthened and expressive silence, left the room, and remained out so long that one of the brethren went in search of him. When asked to re-enter the house and rejoin their brother, Mr. Jolly said he would do so on one condition, viz., that the subject of farming should be dropped for the day. It need not be added that the justice of the rebuke was felt and acknowledged, and that

the offence ceased at once. The offending brethren were not probably by any means in the habit of forgetting themselves in this way.*

* Johnson's friend, Dr. Taylor of Ashbourne, offended the great Moralist in much the same way, and evidently had met with a more or less explicit rebuke in consequence. "Sir," said Johnson to Boswell, ". . . . my regard for him does not increase. As it is said in the Apocrypha, 'his talk is of bullocks'. I do not suppose he is very fond of my company. His habits are by no means sufficiently clerical: this he knows that I see; and no man likes to live under the eye of perpetual disapprobation."—Boswell's *Johnson*, VI., 325-6. Ed. 1835.

CHAPTER III.—1784-1798.

Reads hard—Publishes Pamphlet on Constitution of Church—His Prayers on special occasions—Seabury Consecration, &c.—Is proposed as Coadjutor to Bishop Petrie—Mode of appointing Coadjutors—Preaches Bishop Petrie's Funeral Sermon—Letters on Character of Bishop Petrie—Removes to Fraserburgh—Church submits at last to Reigning Family—Anecdotes—Oliphant of Gask—Is appointed Coadjutor to Bishop Macfarlane—Obtains separate Diocese of Moray.

From the very earliest period of his ministry, Mr. Jolly was a most diligent and systematic reader—a perfect *helluo librorum*—turning to account every spare moment for the storing of his mind with professional, and especially with patristic, learning; and the result was that, even at this early period, he had acquired a great reputation for learning, and much was expected of him. He was always, however, too much disposed to hide his light under a bushel; and the only thing that he published in his presbyterate days was a pamphlet of 37 pages on "The Nature and Constitution of the Christian Church; the Divine appointment of its Governors and Pastors, and the Nature and Guilt of Schism". The pamphlet was published at Edinburgh when the writer was in his 28th year. It is mostly taken up with the scriptural and patristic proofs of the divine authority of the three Orders of the Ministry; and the tone and spirit of it are mild and persuasive rather than dogmatic and controversial. It is distinguished by a primitive simplicity and earnestness, and (to use his own words) "a spirit of meekness" and the "absence of any bitterness of expression".

Notwithstanding the comparatively antiquated style of the little work, it has been twice reprinted since the author's death—by Parker of Oxford, in 1840, and by the Scottish Tract Society, in 1849.

Mr. Jolly's path may be followed at the obscurest periods of his history by the track of prayer which he left behind him. Every occasion of importance appears to have been sanctified by a special prayer to God. There is to be found amongst his papers a prayer, which was evidently drawn up for use on the occasion of the consecration of Bishop Seabury—as first Bishop of the American Church—by the Scotch Bishops at Aberdeen, November 14, 1784. The prayer is highly appropriate. After an exordium, which is partly taken from the first prayer "in the Ember Weeks," it proceeds—"Bless and prosper the endeavours of all who . . . labour . . . . . to propagate the Truth, and promote the interest and enlargement of the Church and Kingdom of Christ. In an especial manner bless and prosper the labours of . . . him who, by the Divine Providence, . . . is now commissioned and appointed to promote the interests of that Church and Kingdom in the western parts of the habitable world. Grant him a safe and prosperous journey and voyage, and a happy arrival in that country. Inspire him, and us, and all who are or shall be commissioned for that great work, with an apostolical zeal for Thy glory in maintaining that doctrine, government, worship, and discipline, entire, pure, and unblemished, which Thou hast committed to their trust! Give us grace to consider from whom we are sent, and whose successors we are, and endue us with the apostolical spirit of courage and boldness, together with such a holy and heavenly suffering frame of mind, that we may be

ready, not only to be bound, but to die for the Lord Jesus," &c., &c.

Judging from its form, the prayer was probably used in the public services of the Church; but it is plainly Mr. Jolly's own composition, containing, as it does, several alterations and corrections.

The petition for a "suffering frame of mind" was certainly no vain form in those trying times.

Though not yet thirty years old, Mr. Jolly had already —1785—a prospect of being raised to the Episcopate; and it was from no fault or deficiency in himself that the prospect was not realised. "Bishop Petrie," wrote the future Bishop Watson,* "has pressed Bishop Kilgour (the Primus) again and again for a coadjutor, and wishes Mr. Jolly for the man." This is the way in which Bishops were still very commonly appointed, especially in the smaller dioceses. The Clergy had now obtained, by Canon, the right of electing their own Bishops; but in practice, through the system of coadjutors, they were frequently deprived of it. An aged or infirm Prelate had seldom much difficulty in persuading his colleagues to appoint him a coadjutor of his own nomination; and once appointed, the coadjutor became, almost as a matter of course, the successor; the Clergy were practically shut up to the choice of him. There would probably have been no hesitation on the part of the Bishops to comply with the application in favour of Mr. Jolly, but for the peculiarity of the diocese which he would have had to administer. Bishop Petrie's diocese embraced the greater part of the Highlands, and hence it was most desirable that the Bishop should be a Highlander—understanding the people and their language, and, if

* Letter to Mr. (afterwards Bishop) Torry, July 19, 1785.

possible, also living amongst them. All these qualifications, along with general fitness, were united in Mr. Macfarlane of Inverness, who had also the good fortune to be strongly recommended by Mr. Skinner of Longside,* then and long afterwards a power in the Church. Against these special qualifications of Mr. Macfarlane no general qualifications of a Lowland man and Lowland incumbent, like Mr. Jolly, could weigh in the balance, and thus eventually Mr. Macfarlane was preferred to Mr. Jolly. He was not consecrated to the coadjutorship, however, till two years after this time—too late to be of any service to Bishop Petrie, who died six weeks after the consecration, April 9, 1787.

The death of Bishop Petrie was a great grief to Mr. Jolly, who most deeply revered and loved him. Mr. Jolly had called to see the Bishop some time before his death, and found him composedly and cheerfully "endeavouring," with the aid of Jeremy Taylor's Holy Dying, "to make up his account" for eternity. Six of Bishop Petrie's old pupils met at the funeral; and Mr. Jolly, it is said, was the only one of the six who would consent to preach the funeral sermon—but this may mean no more than that the other five considered Mr. Jolly the fittest for the duty, and insisted on giving way to him. Anyhow Mr. Jolly performed the duty, and, according to a still fresh tradition, he did so in a singularly impressive manner. A hearer of the sermon,

* "Honest Mr. Skinner, seated by Bishops Kilgour and Petrie, with each hand on one of their thighs, told them plainly that Mr. Jolly was not a fit man—that in all the three dioceses of Aberdeen, Moray, and Ross, Mr. Macfarlane was the only person." (Letter of Mr., afterwards Bishop Watson, 9th July, 1785.) With Mr. Skinner, Mr. Macfarlane's strong Hutchinsonianism and very decided anti-"Eternal Generation" views were doubtless additional recommendations. See *Postea*, Chap.

who survived till comparatively recent times, said that during the delivery of it, there was not a dry eye in the Church but the preacher's own. To a great extent, no doubt, the effect was due rather to the subject and the occasion than to the preacher. Almost any sort of funeral sermon on Bishop Petrie, preached in Bishop Petrie's pulpit, would have been impressive. The slightest touch would open the fountain of tears. Mr. Jolly's sermon (which the writer has perused in the original manuscript), appears to have been written and delivered on the principle on which the preacher always acted, of avoiding any excessive excitement of the feelings. It contains no stirring appeals or pathetic touches, and to all appearance the preacher entirely refrained himself. But doubtless, though his eyes were dry, his "voice wept". It was not possible altogether to conceal the emotion, which, it is known, worked powerfully in the preacher's heart; and then, though he avoided exaggeration, he certainly paid a very high tribute to the memory of the departed. Bishop Petrie was "one of the best men he ever knew". He "had the most ardent zeal for the Church". He "went about doing good, and journeying unweariedly and without consideration of his bodily health". If all "went well" with the Church, "he rejoiced, in the midst of pain and bodily weakness". If any detriment or hurt seemed to threaten the Church, no outward thing could make him cheerful. "The pleasures of the body he had so entirely got above, that . . . such a thorough conquest of them has been rarely seen in these later times." Such words as these from such a man, plain and guarded as they were, doubtless struck a responsive chord in every heart of the sympathetic audience. Yet, on looking over the

preacher's late correspondence, one is disposed to wish that he had on that Sunday spoken to the Folla people with as much affectionate warmth as he, forty years afterwards, wrote on the same subject to two old Folla students. To Mr. Buchan, Elgin—then on his death-bed—he wrote (January 12, 1829), in words already partially quoted—"Neither you nor I can ever forget our highly and justly beloved and venerated Friend and Father, good and worthy Bishop Petrie, whose name I never mention but with sentiments of endearment. When I visited him, in his ailing state, and felt the dread of his being translated from us, having at his hand Bishop Taylor's *Holy Dying*, composed and cheerful, his expression was, 'I am endeavouring to make up my accounts'. Saintly soul! His accounts he kept ever short, and awful though our responsibility be, having to give account of the souls of others as well as our own (Deus misereatur!) I firmly believe he had nothing to fear. But the best of men are ever the most humble, and make their appeal to mercy only—cleaving in firm Faith, humble Hope, and penitential Love to our Redeemer's Cross, the sure anchor of salvation in the hour of death and in the day of judgment." To Dean Walker, Huntly, he wrote (March 17, 1830)—"Mention of our highly-mansioned and ever-memorable friend, whose paternal attention was a blessing from God both to you and me, ever touches my heart-strings, where his dear remembrance is ever firmly fixed. May we, by the same spirit that guarded him, so spin out our thread, as that we may, in some lower mansion, be re-admitted to his embrace."

Next year (April, 1788) Mr. Jolly, at the urgent desire of the Bishop of Aberdeen, left the congregation of Turriff for that of Fraserburgh. The exchange, Mr.

Pressley says, was greatly against his own inclination; but a sense of duty constrained him. The congregation at Fraserburgh was then in a somewhat critical condition, very uninviting to a Clergyman. The then Incumbent, the Rev. John Durham, had lately, through various failings and misfortunes, including an accident which resulted in the fracture of a leg, became incapacitated for duty, although there was every prospect that he would live a good many years, a burden on the congregation, making the small stipend smaller. To Mr. Jolly this drawback was probably less of a discouragement than it would have been to most men. Anyhow he "agreed to allow Mr. Durham the greater part of the slender" salary, "which was" accordingly "regularly paid over to him till his death," somewhere about eight years afterwards. Mr. Jolly appears to have had some additional allowance from Church funds, on account of this great burden upon him; for on his removal from Turriff to Fraserburgh, Bishop Walker says his name is entered in the Register of Administration of the fund "for the Indigent Episcopal Clergy," &c., for seven guineas, instead of six or nine crowns, which was the usual grant. After Mr. Durham's death, Mr. Jolly acted the part of a father to his destitute family; and, in fact, he may be said to have adopted his son, John Durham, paying for his maintenance, education, and settlement in life.

The year which saw Mr. Jolly settled for life at Fraserburgh was a notable one in several ways. It was the anniversary of the Revolution of 1688, which drove the last Stuart from the British throne; and it witnessed the death of the last active Stuart claimant for that throne, and also the close of the Episcopal Church's

hundred years' barren witness to the Stuart claims. Prince Charles Edward died at Rome on the 31st of January, 1788; and his death was the signal for almost immediate and complete submission of the Church to the reigning family. It is evident, from the letters of the period, that the majority of Churchmen had for some time contemplated submission, and only waited for the demise of the Prince as a natural though not very logical opportunity for accomplishing the purpose. There was a small but keen minority against submission, and they had something to say for themselves. Jacobitism, as a cause, was indeed hopelessly lost; but it might still be maintained as a theory. Charles was dead, but Henry, his brother, lived, and though a Cardinal, might still be King, and have a legitimate successor. "You know," wrote Oliphant of Gask, "ye King of England never dies, and were Henry ye 9th to do so, unquestionably ye King of Sardinia is our lawfull Prince." Nothing could take away Henry IX.'s "right," "were he even Mahumetan and a Turkish Priest".* General submission on a certain day was agreed to by the Bishops and the Diocesan Synods; but such sturdy Jacobites as Gask continued to hold out, refusing either to pray for King George themselves or to let others do so in peace, trying in Church to drown the Clergyman's voice at the obnoxious petition by coughing, blowing their noses, slamming their books, and other and less seemly interruptions.†

* *Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, p. 409.

† When King George was first prayed for by name in Meiklefolla Church, Charles Halket of Inveramsay sprung to his feet; vowed that he would never pray for "that Hanoverian villain," and instantly left the Church, which he did not re-enter for twenty years.—See *Bishop Gleig*, Chap. III. A Mr. Roger, of St. Andrews, Aberdeen, said Bishop Skinner might "pray the eknees aff his breeks" before he would join him in praying for King George. —(*Auctore, Dr. Grub.*)

Some of the Clergy who had themselves gone on to the last proclaiming no surrender must have found it somewhat difficult to deal with these stern out-standing lay brethren, who had taken them at their word, and were only too consistent.* But with Mr. Jolly it was very different. The part he acted on this, as on subsequent critical occasions, appears to have been eminently modest and conciliatory. The speech which he delivered in the Diocesan Synod of Aberdeen, which met (at Longside, April 9, 1788) to consider the question of submission, was couched in a style at once becoming the occasion, and calculated to persuade the doubting—expressing, as it did, simply a hope that submission was not wrong, and would not imply, on the part of the Churchmen, either a recognition of the principles of the Revolution or an abandonment of their own principles—"the principles," as he believed, "of Scripture as illustrated by the practice of the primitive Church".†

On the first occasion that Mr. Jolly did duty in Fraserburgh Church, it would seem that his slight frame and weak voice rather detracted from the effect of his

* Mr. Cruickshank of Muthil was a good instance of this class. He had been in the way of acting as Chaplain to Gask, and had assured that uncompromising gentleman, when there was a talk of submission, that *he* would *never* submit. Within a few days he abruptly wrote Gask that he had "begun nominal prayers". Gask replied instantly that "as he has incapacitated himself from officiating at Gask, his gown is sent by the carryer, and . . . as Mr. Cruickshank has received his stipend to Whitsunday, there is no mony transactions to settle between him and Mr. Oliphant".

† Here Mr. Jolly enunciated the principles by which his whole views were governed through life, and the application of which many will think he sometimes carried too far, not making sufficient allowance for changed times and circumstances. "It even seems to me," says Sir John Coleridge of his friend, Keble, "a fallacy to refer everything, as he did, to the standard of the primitive Church, and to be unwise because unpractical"—(*Memoir of Keble*, p. 466).

ministrations. At least, he used himself, Mr. Pressley says, to tell a story to that effect. On coming out of Church, he overheard one man saying to another, "Fat'n a cheepin' body's that 't the Bishop's sent 's?" No event of much interest marked the first eight years of his Fraserburgh incumbency. He kept the even tenor of his primitive way, entirely absorbed in duty, devotion, and study, creating no sensation, but impressing every one with a conviction of his eminent saintliness of character. The very natural result, especially for those times, was his elevation to the Episcopate. It is clear, we think, that it was rather to the prevailing belief of his singular fitness to adorn the Episcopal office, than to any proved need of an additional Bishop at the time, that his consecration was mainly due. Charles I. said that William Forbes, first Bishop of Edinburgh, deserved to have a see created for him. It was chiefly because Mr. Jolly was thought to deserve a see, that a see was provided for him.

This seems clear from the circumstances of his appointment, first and last. It was to the very same office to which, eleven years previously, Bishop Petrie had wished him appointed, that Bishop Petrie's successor now had him appointed. And if the appointment was objectionable then, it was still more objectionable now. For to the old objections of non-residence and ignorance of Gaelic, there was now added the yet more cogent objection of superfluousness. It is impossible to show that there was any reasonable cause for the appointment at that time of a coadjutor to the Bishop of Moray and Ross. Bishop Macfarlane was as yet a comparatively young man, having, as it turned out, still three-and-twenty years of life and work in him, and the united diocese contained only nine small charges. The proposed

appointment was, in truth, rather a glaring abuse, even for those days, of the very irregular coadjutor system. The Primus (Bishop Skinner) set his face like a flint against it, steadfastly refusing to give it his sanction, or to take any part in carrying it out, and maintaining that it would be better to send the diocese two or three more Presbyters than a second Bishop. The rest of the Bishops admitted that the objections urged by the Primus had great weight; but they held that, weighty as they were, the great merits of Mr. Jolly overbalanced them. No reference appears to have been made to the Presbyters of the diocese over whom the proposed coadjutor was to have rule. The majority of the Bishops settled the matter amongst themselves. They over-ruled the objections of the Primus; met at Dundee on the eve of St. John Baptist's day, 1796, elected Bishop Abernethy Drummond Primus for the occasion, and next day, June 24, they (Bishops Abernethy Drummond, Strachan, and Macfarlane), consecrated Mr. Jolly.

One cannot help regretting that one who was himself a pattern of order and regularity should not have been appointed to his high office in a more regular manner. But the fault was not in him, but in the system of the age; and never, perhaps, was a Presbyter raised to the Episcopate who felt more deeply the responsibilities of the office. Mr. Stephen says a Priest informed him that he slept in the same room with Mr. Jolly the night previous to his consecration, and that when that venerable man thought his room-fellow was asleep, he rose soon after midnight, dressed himself, and continued on his knees in prayer till morning.*

It is quite in harmony with the working of the

* Stephen's *History*, Vol. IV., p. 447.

coadjutor system to find that, after all, "Bishop Jolly never officiated as a coadjutor". As usually happened, a separate see was soon provided for him. After two years of nominal coadjutorship he was appointed to the "sole Episcopal charge" of the Lowland diocese of Moray, which the Bishops had for that purpose disjoined from the Highland dioceses of Ross and Argyll. He was then "unanimously elected to Moray" by the Presbyters, "on the 14th February, 1798, and regularly collated to that charge on the 22nd of said month by the Primus and all his colleagues".*

The diocese of Moray is small, and it had then very few and no large congregations—it is such a diocese, in fact, as a man of delicate health, retiring disposition, and studious habits would, if he had the choice, select for himself. Bishop Jolly was destined, in God's Providence, to rule over it just forty years.

* There was really very little difference between the manner of Bishop Jolly's promotion and that of most of his colleagues. It is not too much to say that, directly or indirectly, they were all Episcopal nominees. Of the five, three (Bishops Macfarlane, Strachan, and Skinner) had, like Jolly, been consecrated as coadjutors, though only one of them (Bishop Skinner) had really acted as such; and the two latter (Bishops Skinner and Strachan) according to Bishop Low,* had never been elected by the Presbyters of their dioceses at all. In the case of Bishop Abernethy Drummond of Edinburgh, and still more in that of Bishop Watson of Dunkeld, the election by the Presbyters could in no sense be called free.—See *Life of Bishop Gleig.*

* Letter in Torry Collection.

CHAPTER IV.—1798-1838.

His whole manner of life during his Episcopate—Domestic Economy—Habits of Study and Meditation—Visiting—Preaching—Administration of Sacraments—Eucharist—Baptism—Occasional Services, &c.

Now that he enters on his Episcopal career, it seems proper to present the reader with a distinct account of Bishop Jolly's whole manner of life, domestic, literary, pastoral, and Episcopal. To know his habits for even a single day, is to know much of his life, and to have the key to more.

To begin with his domestic economy. This was perhaps the most peculiar and characteristic thing about him, and it was the very essence of simplicity and plainness. It may in fact be doubted, if there was a single Clergyman in Scotland—even at the period of depression—whose living cost less. He literally kept no establishment whatever, and during most, if not the whole time of his residence at Fraserburgh, he had no person living under the same roof with him. His sister, who is said not to have possessed his meekness of temper, kept house for him during a part of his Turriff incumbency; but after a time she left him, having accepted the situation of companion to some ladies, who at their death left her an annuity, on which she lived in her later days, in a house of her own, beside her brother's church at Fraserburgh.

"It is well known," says Dr. Neale, "that Bishop Jolly lived in a cottage by himself, having no servant in the house, nor any kind of attendant, except a woman

who came in during the course of the day to put things to rights. As he was very fond of tea, he kept in his fire all night with a peat, so that he could light it up, when he rose before five o'clock."*

This account is substantially correct. The Bishop rose at 4 o'clock, and in several of his later letters, he speaks of having been hard at work, "since half-past four in the morning".

The house also which still stands (in Cross Street, off Mid Street, in which the Church stood and stands), was not exactly a cottage.

"Bishop Jolly's residence in Fraserburgh," says Mr. Thomson, "was a large two story high house about the middle of the town, of which he was the sole inhabitant, occupying however only the upper flat. As he kept no servant, his only attendance was the occasional services of a mason's wife, who came every morning, opened his door, made his fire, arranged his bed, and did any other menial services he required. He prepared his own breakfast, and then was left alone till dinner-time, when the woman was again seen coming down the street, carrying a very small pot in her hand, with a wooden cover on it, and something else beneath her apron, which was the whole preparation for the Bishop's dinner. If any person had to call on the Bishop, there was no admittance to him but by the agency of Mrs. Rettie, who came with her pass-key, opened the door, and went up and told him who it was that wished to see him. When his visitor departed, he conducted him downstairs himself, locked the outer door, and was again left in his usual solitude."†

With such domestic arrangements, it is plain that,

* Neale's *Torry*, p. 111.

† Communication to writer of Memoir.

however much the recluse Prelate might be "a lover of hospitality," it was only to a limited extent that he could exercise that Scriptural duty. Yet he certainly did not neglect it. Every year, on the day of their annual meeting, he gave to the Trustees of his Chapel an entertainment, which was concluded with a huge bowl of rum punch, usually mixed by Mr. Pressley, during the period of that gentleman's assistantship.

One of his old pupils, the Leslies of Rothie, once called upon the Bishop, and was treated to a cup of tea. The tea was very good; but, said Mr. Leslie, "I wouldn't have given a groat for all that was upon the table".

A better proof, however, of his every-day hospitality was his kind attention to Mr. Thomson, then a youthful private in a Militia regiment, on a short stay at Fraserburgh. "In the summer of 1811, I was at Fraserburgh doing service in the Local Militia. When I left home, my parents gave me strict injunctions to wait upon Bishop Jolly, for whom they had great respect and veneration. I was then a very young man, and not much accustomed to the society of such dignified personages, and I felt rather nervous at the idea of intruding on his Reverence. However, I plucked up courage, and with the assistance of Mrs. Rettie got introduced to the Bishop. When I told who I was, and the reason for my waiting on him, he received me with the greatest kindness. After giving me his blessing, a great deal of good advice, and an excellent book to read (it was Nelson's *Practice of True Devotion*), he said, 'Now you must drink with me'. So he opened his cupboard, and took out a bottle of spirits, some sugar, and spring water, and compounded a tumbler of the most delicious grog I ever tasted. I have tried to mix

spirits and water, and have seen others do the same, but I never tasted anything of the kind so palatable as that mixed by Bishop Jolly."

The chief reason why the Bishop maintained so rigorously this monastic seclusion was, without doubt, the ardour of his devotion to his sacred studies and meditations. He continued now, as in his Presbyterate days, to adhere, both in reading and devotion, to the most strict, regular, systematic course; though now, his additional duties broke in upon it more frequently. One portion of his day's reading, Mr. Pressley assures us, was never suffered to fall far in arrear, viz., a daily fixed and unvarying number of pages of the Hebrew Bible and the Greek New Testament. This he called his "work"—and if from illness, absence from home, or a press of duty, any part of it had been left undone, he took the first opportunity to bring up his arrears. No part of his "work" was long neglected. He appears to have read in somewhat the same regular systematic way in the Primitive Fathers, especially in St. Augustine, and Chrysostom. It is at least certain, both from his letters, and from the testimony of his most intimate friends, that he was very familiar with the writings of these Chiefs of the Fathers; and that he could not endure to have any volume of his copy of their works long out of his sight. On one occasion he had lent out Chrysostom on the Priesthood, amongst his Moray Clergy, fixing as usual a time for its return—the fixed time came, but not the book. Great was his annoyance, and he wrote instantly, and with unusual sharpness, demanding the book by its Greek title, and by its Latin title—and at last fixing the period of three weeks, by the end of which it *must* be returned to him.

It is needless to say that he was thoroughly versed in the writings of the great English Divines; Bishop Bull being on the whole his favourite—the teaching of that Prelate, especially in the *Harmonia Apostolica*, being regarded by him as "the truly Scriptural and primo-primitive theology". Waterland also "ranked high with him," as "a second Bishop Bull," though he thought his teaching on the Sacrifice in the Eucharist imperfect; his own views on that subject agreeing rather with the Non-jurors.* He was also familiar with the writings of the German Reformers; in short, as his friend Bishop Walker—no mean authority—said of him, he was "ripe and ready on every subject in the wide and varied range of theological study, especially in Christian Antiquity". But for long it seemed as if he read and plodded only for himself, hoarding up his treasures like the miser, as if he could take them with him. He was very slow to let the Church reap the results of his learned researches.

With the exception of the pamphlet of 1784, he published nothing, till he had reached the three score and ten, and even then he was drawn out reluctantly by his friends. No doubt the chief cause of his backwardness was his great humility. Most truly said Mr. Maclaurin of him, that he "fell into the most uncommon fault of greatly under-valuing himself". His self-depreciation in his letters is continual, and but for its manifest sincerity, would be somewhat wearisome. Bishop Gleig is reported to have said of him, that "Bishop Jolly would be perfect but for his excessive humility".

But there was another and not less powerful cause of his unproductiveness. His mind was naturally of the

* Hickes, Brett, Dodwell. Johnson of Cranbrook, who was of the same theological school as the Non-jurors, was also a great favourite with him.

receptive rather than of the productive order; and close and long-continued study had weakened in some sense the natural power of production. It seems to be possible for a man to "lay so many books on his head that his brain cannot move".

The Rev. Josiah Cargill was "jist dung donnart wi' learnin," and Bishop Jolly was undoubtedly somewhat overburdened with it. It choked rather than stimulated the natural growth of his mind, and made him sometimes, instead of thinking for himself, consider what others thought—look without for "an authority," rather than within for "a reason".

Regular habits of devotion pervaded his whole life. He sought by these means to keep God always before him. In the only possible sense he "prayed without ceasing"—asking God's blessing upon everything he did, and on every person with whom he came in contact—sanctifying every act and deed of his life by the spirit of prayer. Besides daily stated periods for private prayer, "he made use of Bishop Andrews' short ejaculations for the different hours of the day". When about to enter into conversation with a friend, he, after the example of godly George Herbert, invoked mentally the divine "blessing on him"; and in writing a letter, whenever he had occasion to mention the name of a friend, he invariably added a pious ejaculation—such as (Lord bless him !). His practice was similar when he referred to the Church, or to any divine ordinance; for instance mentioning the Church of England, he says, "Lord, mercifully preserve in every point that grand Bulwark of the Reformation !" "Before commencing the perusal of any work of importance, he presented his solemn petition to God, for grace to enable him to convert it to his spiritual improvement."

Latterly, especially in writing to a friend, he scarcely ever fails to close his letter with a request for his correspondents' prayers; often stating that he himself remembers his correspondents daily in his prayers. Bishop Walker says, "regularly every day did his prayers rise up to the throne of grace, in behalf of all and each of his friends, of his Church and of his flock".

It might be supposed that from his love of study and retirement, Bishop Jolly would have been somewhat lax in visiting his congregation. But the contrary was the fact. Bishop Walker who frequently spent a large part of the year at Fraserburgh, says he was "remarkably attentive".

Living witnesses corroborate this statement; and one of these assures the writer that at one time the Bishop visited, however briefly, all the members of his congregation who were resident in Fraserburgh, every day or every other day. As he set apart a stated time for visiting, his studious seclusion did not so much hinder him from visiting his people, as it hindered his people from visiting him. It made access to him a slow, roundabout and uncertain process. The door-keeper had to be sought out, and when found was not always very civil or obliging; and if admittance was refused, it was often doubted whether it was the Bishop's engagements, or the door-keeper's convenience or caprice, that was the real obstacle. Thus it came about, Mr. Pressley says, that many of the people, however anxious they might be to see the Bishop, ceased to seek admission to his presence, through the medium of the door-keeper.

The evil of inaccessibility was considerably mitigated in later times, through the instrumentality of Mr. Pressley, who on becoming curate, obtained a key to the Bishop's door, wherewith to admit himself whenever he chose;

and who, in his kindly obliging manner, was always ready to use the key for the convenience of members of the congregation. Still, at best, the Bishop's studious seclusion did tend to the obstruction of free intercourse between him and his flock, and this was a misfortune for both. Doubtless the Bishop himself did not fully realise the fact. He speaks indeed in some of his late letters of reading more as a student than as a pastor; but by this expression he can only have meant to indicate the ardour and closeness of his application to study. The full difference, however, between reading as a student and reading as a pastor, is much more than the difference between greater and less application. It is the difference between making study and making professional duty the great business of life, making duty give way to study, instead of study giving way to duty. There can hardly be a case where a pastor would be justified in refusing to see a parishioner on the ground that he was "at his studies". The countryman who called to see the literary French Bishop Huet, and being told that he could not see the Bishop then, because he was at his studies, naïvely remarked that he wished the King had sent them a Bishop who had *finished his studies*. Bishop Jolly, we may be well sure, would have been the very last man to sanction the direct refusal of an interview to a parishioner because he was at his studies, but yet the result of domestic arrangement was practically, in many cases, an indirect refusal; and the Fraserburgh people would probably have been well content, that he should have been only half as learned, had he been twice as accessible.

His manner in Church, in conducting the ordinary services—in preaching the Word, and in administering the Sacraments—was strikingly solemn. This is the

account of Bishop Walker, who often assisted him at Fraserburgh.

"Bishop Jolly's manner," says Bishop Walker "was peculiar at all times; naturally serious and solemn, but never sour or surly. At Church, his manner was singularly remarkable, as if his whole soul was concentrated, and his whole man outward and inward devoted to the duty before him, under the deepest impression of the promised presence of the Divine Mediator. Every thought was evidently absorbed in the sense of this presence, and in the performance of the duty before him. There was nothing eloquent in his preaching; but as there was nothing peculiar, or at least offensive, even to strangers, in his voice or manner, his seriousness and earnest sincerity were such as to interest all who saw and heard him, even for the first time, and to carry them along with him to more permanent effect, than many a lauded preacher, whose eloquence is admired and immediately forgotten. Preaching he never neglected, and his preaching was ever sound and salutary; but he never gave it that pre-eminence which it has too generally acquired over more important and essential points and services in the Christian Minister's commission."

Mr. Thomson's account* is substantially the same—"His discourses were plain and impressive, delivered without any attempts at rhetorical flourishes or bursts of oratory. His voice was somewhat feeble and hollow in sound, yet as he spoke deliberately and with distinct articulation. he could be heard without difficulty by an attentive congregation". Mr. Pressley says†—"The style

* Private Communications to writer.

† *Funeral Sermon on Bishop Jolly*, pp. 12, 13.

of his preaching was peculiarly earnest and impressive, but it owed its power . . . . in an especial manner to that fervour and spirituality which pervaded the whole". From what Mr. Pressley says we think it is very likely that in preaching, as in other matters, the Bishop's hard reading tended somewhat to the detriment of his effectiveness. In the earlier stage of his Ministry, Mr. Jolly devoted four hours a-day to the preparation of sermons—but latterly he scarce ever made a sermon at all. Mr. Pressley does not believe he "wrote ten sermons all the time he was at Fraserburgh".

It is hardly possible that the effect of his preaching should not have been impaired by the constant use of old materials. There is all the difference in the world between speaking from old notes and the uttering of fresh thoughts in fresh words. No doubt the difference was less in the case of a man of Bishop Jolly's solid character and early matured powers, than it is in the case of most preachers. The Bishop's matter, at whatever time composed, was always sound and practical; his manner was always earnest and impressive; and, to those who knew his saintly life,

> Truth from his lips prevailed with double sway.

Of his administration of the Lord's Supper we have from Bishop Walker a short general, and from Mr. Pressley a full and particular, account, both very interesting. Bishop Walker says—"He was ever most anxious to explain the nature and obligation of the Christian Sacraments as the ordinary means of divine grace." And "it was a delightful sight to see the good man administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and especially on any of the great Festivals, when, in addition to the deepest devotion, which the participation of the

Lord's Supper always demands and excites, there was added the exhilarating recollection of the birth of the Son of God as the Son of Man, of His resurrection, and triumph over death and the grave," &c. Mr Pressley's very minute and particular account is as follows:—

"At Fraserburgh, the sum total of *public* celebrations was only *five* in the course of the ecclesiastical year—*i.e.*, three on the great Festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, and two on the Sundays after Trinity; without any regard to the first of the month—generally the 10th and 21st, the last being regulated by the course of the harvest, whether early or late. On these five separate occasions the attendance of communicants was generally full—more so, in fact, than at present, when the administration is more frequent. Till he grew feeble, he would not allow me to take any part in covering the altar, &c., or in preparing the elements, and in the coldest Christmas morning he was to be found in the Church, at about 6 A.M., with a large lantern which he kept for the purpose, making his arrangements, and carrying from his lodgings, at two different journeys, all the necessary materials—the bread previously prepared and kept in a box for the prothesis, and the wine (port) in bottles, carefully drained when poured into the paten. The whole was concluded by an office of devotion for the purpose, and given *memoriter*. In the performance of the entire office of the altar, the whole spirit and soul of the venerable man was called into action, and fixed and consecrated on the adorable subject before him; but there was no visible exhibition, no elevation, no prostration or genuflexion, or the slightest approach to it in any part of the office, with the single reserve, which I

daresay I have pointed out to you,* when the appearance of the whole man was so wrapt in devotion, as to suggest the idea of a pure spirit in prostration before the throne, while speaking in the name of the Christian people kneeling around him as their priest and mouth-piece. The passage in the office to which I allude is this—'And here we humbly offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls, and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto Thee'; and certainly never were words uttered by any Priest more pregnant with meaning. The remembrance I have of such scenes as they occurred will ever be present with me. The consecrated elements, if the reserve was large, were partly partaken of by several of the Churchwardens who remained for the purpose, and the remainder carried to his lodgings, and reserved for future use. He told me that he learned the practice of reserve from some writings on the Greek Church with which he got acquainted in the course of his researches, and ever after, on every Sunday and holiday when an epistle and gospel were appointed by the Church, he brought forth from their usual receptacle as much as was required for the single act of communion, with none but God and good angels for his companions. There was in no case any fresh celebration, because he conceived none to be needed; and in the single act of reception in both kinds of what had to be consecrated weeks before, he had no doubt but that a full and complete communion with

* Mr. Pressley has often pointed this out to the writer. It is very probable that the manner of the most pious amongst the English Reformers resembled that of Bishop Jolly at this point of the service. (See Dean Hook's *Life of Cranmer*, pp. 150-1.) "The Reformers, one and all, . . . maintained . . . that the sacrifice was the offering of themselves, their souls and bodies, to God's service, in common with the hosts of Heaven."

his God and Saviour had been made."* It would be difficult to conceive anything more entirely characteristic of this "holy and humble man of heart" than his manner, as thus described, on those solemn occasions, exhibiting as it does the deepest reverence and the most fervent devotion, manifested in the simplest and quietest way.

As to his administration of the other Sacrament, Bishop Walker says—"In administering the Sacrament of Baptism, it was manifest that he looked to the thing signified; but then he felt that the sign is the seal thereof, unless we throw some obstacle in the way, as those men so clearly do who repudiate Baptismal Regeneration as a wretched figment". The Bishop appears also to have been always most anxious to have an assurance that every person who joined his congregation had been regularly baptised. A clergymen now living tells an anecdote illustrative of this fact, which he had from the parties concerned. A member of the Bishop's Fraserburgh flock married a woman who had been brought up in a sect, of the regularity of whose baptism the Bishop entertained doubts. She agreed to join the Church. The Bishop insisted upon her submitting to (hypothetical) re-baptism. The woman refused for a long time, and the Bishop had recourse to something like gentle violence in order to ensure compliance.

In the performance of all the services, ordinary and occasional, the Bishop was undoubtedly more strict and rubrical than most Clergymen of his day. He read the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church, and a member of his congregation still living says that his reading of it was singularly impressive, especially the passage, "And we most humbly beseech Thee, of Thy goodness, O Lord,

* Letter from Mr. Pressley to the writer of the Memoir.

to comfort and succour all them who in this transitory life are in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity".

In one of his late letters,* he states that in marrying a couple he always read the whole of the English Marriage Service from beginning to end; in another, that he had begun, during his Turriff ministry, and had always continued the use of the prayer in Ember weeks. In intimating Holy Communion, he read the whole of the Exhortation, with the significant exception of the clause in which the reader is made by implication to speak of himself as "a discreet and learned Minister of God's Word". The Bishop read the passage thus—"Let him come to *me* and open his grief".

*To Bishop Skinner. In Bishop Jolly's early days, the English Marriage Service was probably very seldom used in the North. Manuscript forms, both of the Marriage and Baptismal offices, were in common use by the Clergy. The Rev. John Skinner of Longside, Mr. Pressley says, continued to the last to use such forms, adapted by himself.

CHAPTER V.—1798-1838.

The Government of his Diocese—His Manner towards his Clergy—Visitation of his Diocese—Mode of Travelling while Visiting—Anecdotes—Bestowal of his Blessing—His Policy in the General Government of the Church—As an Administrator, as a Legislator—His Manner in Society—Anecdotes.

From the many extant copies of the Bishop's letters, both to his brother bishops and to the clergy of his diocese, during the last twenty-two years of his life, a very distinct idea may be formed of him as a ruler both of his own diocese and also of the whole Church. As regards his own diocese, the Bishop, like most bishops of the time, took entirely the paternal view of Episcopal authority, holding that the Bishop's power should be in no way limited or controlled, except by his own free consent, and hence that he need never assemble his Presbyters in Synod, unless he wishes their advice, and of course need not follow the advice when he gets it unless he pleases. It is needless to say that with such a Bishop as Jolly, and such a diocese as Moray, paternal government worked well, except, perhaps, as regards Church progress. When the Bishop had only four or five Presbyters, and they mostly about the same age, and of the same way of thinking as himself, it might well seem too much of a mere formality to assemble them in Synod once every year, still more to address to them a regular charge. The Bishop, though a great upholder of "decency and order," was also by nature a lover of simplicity, and avoided all avoidable formalities.

Hence, he seldom convened a Synod of his diocese, and never delivered a charge.* In fact, he only visited his diocese once in three years, when he held a Confirmation in each of the churches of it. In the intervals he did most of his diocesan work by letter. In the best sense of the word, however, his government of his diocese was fatherly, or perhaps still more correctly, brotherly. He treated his Clergy as brothers, writing to them always in the most affectionate terms—taking the liveliest interest in them and their families, and never letting slip an opportunity of doing them a service. "Our very few, but very dear diocesan Brethren" he writes of them on one occasion to one of their number. Some of them were sometimes rather hard pressed by the *res angusta domi*. The Bishop sought assistance for them from every available fund, and from such ever open-handed friends of the Church as Mr. Bowdler, of Eltham, seldom failing also to draw first upon his own slender resources. A very common injunction of his in a letter to a clergyman was, "Pray take no more notice of this [a £5 note] than merely to say that you have received it".

It can hardly be needful to say that when he paid a visit to his diocese, he was received with the utmost respect and reverence. Bishop Walker accompanied him on one occasion, and this was what he saw—

"I had once the high satisfaction of attending Bishop Jolly through his diocese as his Chaplain, when I saw as fine a specimen of a Christian Bishop as the most vivid imagination could well picture. There was no pomp. There were no adventitious circumstances to excite attention, or to demand respect; but wherever and whenever

* Diocesan Synods, and still more Charges, were very irregular and infrequent in those days, except in the diocese of Aberdeen, where the Clergy were comparatively numerous, and the Bishop able and energetic.

the holy and humble man appeared, he was received by all, old and young, by persons of every rank and degree, with an evident fervour of reverence, respect, and regard. In performing the duties of his high office, particularly on this occasion, the simple and impressive ordinance of Confirmation, there was in his whole manner, a sinking of self so evident, and an unaffected fervour of devotion so attractive, and so impressive, as seemed to carry every heart along with him to the promised and special presence of the divine Mediator. I heard too at the same time his occasional notes of exhortation to his Clergy; and such was the manner of the man, and such the matter of his counsel, that even I felt no want of a formal Charge. Yet he was by reading and reflection, so admirably qualified for the task, that we may be permitted to regret that he did not give us, at least triennially during his Episcopate, a series of Charges on such important and interesting topics as were familiar to his mind, but not equally familiar to those ministers, whose pastor he was, though he in his modesty thought differently."*

The impression produced on Dr. Walker by what he witnessed was precisely what we should have expected. Whatever Bishop Jolly did was well done; but much that he could have done well was not attempted. There was in him a reserve of edifying power which he never put forth. Dr. Walker's report of the visitation, however—the report of an excellent judge—presents a picture which the pious heart will dwell on with delight.

The report from the side of the visited Clergy is less full, but not substantially discordant. It is thus that Mr. Maclaurin, of Elgin—an able man and keen observer—spoke in his funeral sermon on the Bishop.

* See Memoir prefixed to *Sunday Services.*

"His (Bishop Jolly's) holy simplicity and charity made him of all men the most humble. Constantly occupied with thoughts of good to others, he fell into the most uncommon fault of greatly under-valuing himself. It was this that made him a better specimen of the solitary saint than of the Christian Bishop. Such was his humility, indeed, that he would not perform the ordinary duty of giving periodical Charges to his assembled Clergy. His consciousness of sin as a descendant of Adam was so deep, that no sense of official honour was sufficient so far to overcome it; and he contented himself with individually exhorting the inferior pastors, more in the language of the most affectionate equal, than in the authoritative tone of one to whom they had solemnly vowed obedience."

It is clear that, on the whole, Mr. Maclaurin had a just appreciation of the good man's character; but some readers will probably think that the Bishop showed not only true humility, but also a just sense of the fitness of things by "individually exhorting his" four or five "inferior pastors" "in the language of the most affectionate equal," rather than collectively in a formal charge and in "an authoritative tone".

The good Bishop's mode of travelling while visiting his diocese was, latterly at least, quite becoming the dignity of his office. For some time he usually hired a carriage from one charge to another—ordering through the clergyman the "Huntly chaise," or "the Keith" or "Elgin chaise," as the case might be. Latterly, however, he hired "the chaise from Fraserburgh" for the whole journey, "out and in". On one occasion, indeed, Mr. Pressley says the carriage he had from Fraserburgh was not a regular post-chaise but a certain old-fashioned, long-unused, nondescript vehicle, which was furbished up for the occasion; and

which became "the cause of" much "wit" during the Bishop's progress. When about to start one morning from the inn at Huntly, where the party had staid over night, the innkeeper said to Mr. Pressley (who accompanied the Bishop), "Well, I suppose you think us a set of half-civilised Highlanders up here, but *I wouldna'* be *seen* in a thing like that!"

Of course, in earlier times, the Bishop usually made his diocesan journeys on horseback; and had he done so *on foot*, he would have been none the less respected by the native churchmen. But with strangers from the south, accustomed to the high style and state of an English Bishop, the very simple equipage of Bishop Jolly was scarcely realisable. A story is still told in the Moray diocese of the awkward effect produced by the sudden contact of the English ideal with the Scotch reality. The Bishop was expected by a certain hour at the shooting-box of an English gentleman resident in his diocese. He was somewhat late, and some of the servants (all English) had stationed themselves at the gate on the outlook for him. As they stood peering into the distance to catch a glimpse of his lordship's carriage, a little man rode up, upon a little pony, and asked them a question. In turn, they asked *him* the question whether he could tell them if the Bishop was drawing near? "I am the Bishop," was the answer.

There is a function of the Episcopal office which was at one time much prized in the Scotch Episcopal church, but which is now little known, *viz.*, the bestowal of the Bishop's blessing. Bishop Jolly was possibly the last of the Bishops whose blessing was much sought after.* A

* In the early stage of the Oxford movement there was great enthusiasm for the little Church that had long faithfully kept up so much

lady, now living in Aberdeen, occasionally attended the Bishop's church in Fraserburgh in 1834-5, and at that time it was usual for some members of the congregation (generally four or five) to remain after service every Sunday, in order to receive the blessing. They knelt down for the purpose at the altar rails. When Dean Hook visited the Bishop in 1825, he says, "When I separated, I knelt down at the threshold of the door, and he gave me his blessing with tears in his eyes".*

As to the part which Bishop Jolly took in the general government of the Church, as a member of the Episcopal College, opinions may differ somewhat, with the differing views of the true nature of Episcopal government, but it will probably be generally admitted that his merits—though high—were yet not of the very highest order. This is the testimony of Bishop Walker on the subject:—"In addition to the care of his diocese, each Bishop had his share in the general government of the Church, which involves very important duties, and a very high responsibility. In this respect Bishop Jolly was a most important member of the Episcopal College.

"With profound learning, a clear head, and a sound judgment, he was never at fault; and when he had once made up his mind on any important question, he remained firm as a rock. I have known him, on more occasions than one or two, tried by argument in every shape, by influence, by ridicule, even under the name of *Cunctator*, or the drag on the carriage wheel. Nothing, however, could

that Oxford was then striving to restore. When Bishop William Skinner visited Oxford in 1843, it was said the calls that were made upon him for the Episcopal blessing were so numerous and frequent, as to cause him serious bodily fatigue! Ludicrous exaggerations of the alleged fact were repeated by the unsympathetic.

* Letter of Dean Hook to Writer. See *Postea.*

move him. He ever stood steadily opposed to rash legislation and to novelties, however plausible, maintaining firmly but mildly that 'Cunctator' is a very necessary officer, especially among ecclesiastical legislators, and that a drag on the carriage wheel is in many circumstances the only means of escaping very serious disasters."

Most readers will probably gather from Bishop Walker's account that the Bishop's merits as an administrator were great, but as a legislator only of a secondary order.

In administering the general affairs of the Church, he evinced great judgment, prudence, caution, temper, and courtesy—ever leaning to the side of mercy, and, when party feeling ran high, acting the part of a peacemaker, and quietly settling envenomed disputes.

His merits as a Church legislator may be safely inferred from the fact that he was named *Cunctator*, or the drag, by his by no means over-progressive colleagues. The part he took was almost entirely negative or repressive. He put on the drag whenever there was an attempt to accelerate the Church's movement. During the latter and more influential period of his Episcopate, he set his face deliberately against every attempt to convene a General Synod, and this—as plainly appears from his letters—not from any distrust of his brethren, to whom the task of canon-making or canon-mending was entrusted; but from a vague dread of innovation—a fear lest the Synod should, in spite of itself, be influenced by the spirit of the times, and legislate too much in accordance with modern ideas, and thus enact something unprimitive; something inconsistent with the original constitution of the Church, and involving an encroachment on the Episcopal prerogative. In short, to avoid the risk of bad legislation the Bishop would fain have avoided all legislation, and postponed the

meeting of the Synod indefinitely—("till seven times seventeen years"). But over-Conservatism is apt to degenerate into obstruction, and obstruction to end in stagnation.* "For a period now of nearly thirteen years, the Church as a corporate body has been in a state of total inaction, while every other denomination of Christians in Scotland has been assiduously busy on schemes of self-enlargement and of individual concern." So wrote, in 1826, the zealous son of a zealous father—Dean Skinner of Forfar.

To complete the portraiture of the Bishop in his public character, it is proper to add some account of his manner in society. This, it appears, was much better than could have been expected. Considering how recluse and studious his life was, and that

His days among the dead were passed—

it might have been thought that in society he would be shy, awkward, and ill at ease. But according to Bishop Walker, who is substantially corroborated by the Bishop's other most intimate friend, Mr. Pressley, he was the direct reverse. Bishop Walker says:—"If a person who had heard of his general character, of his solitary cell, and life devoted to study and piety, had seen him for the first time in society, he would probably have supposed that he had

* Let the reader consider the general state of the Episcopal Church during Bishop Jolly's Episcopate. His rule extended over forty stirring years. Roughly speaking, it commenced about eight years after the first French Revolution, and closed about eight years after the second. These two mighty convulsions made themselves felt—in the shock or in the recoil—throughout the whole period. It was a time of great and general ferment and activity. Most institutions showed that they felt the call upon them to bestir themselves, and adapt their machinery to changed times. Much might have been done by the Episcopal Church had it shown more corporate spirit, following up the excellent precedent of the Laurencekirk Conventions, and thus preparing—by a thorough union and organisation of its forces—to take advantage of the coming ecclesiastical convulsions.

been misinformed, or that he misunderstood the character described to him. For he would find him exhibit all the ease of manner, cheerfulness of mind, and perfect self-possession which belongs to those who are habitually in what is called the best society. . . . I have sometimes wondered at the perfect ease and readiness with which he would converse on every variety of general subjects, whether literary, scientific, or social."

Quite corroborating this, Mr. Pressley (when questioned by the writer) says—that he was "well informed on general subjects," and very "fluent in conversation"; and, when occasion called, could take an effective part in the discussion of any subject that might be stated. Bishop Walker goes further, and maintains that his society was courted even by "the most fashionable people". "There never was anything shy or awkward in his manner. On the contrary, to my mind, he exhibited as perfect a specimen of a Christian gentleman as I have ever seen. Everything was easy and natural. Nothing was assumed or affected. There was great judgment and discretion in his social intercourse and conversation, and in effect his society was courted by the most fashionable people who became acquainted with him."

Then, in conversation, the Bishop displayed a rare professional tact—of immense importance to his influence, and much to be envied by all clergymen.

"He did not drag in religion or religious questions, as is frequently done most injudiciously. But occasions will frequently—almost always—occur when, even in ordinary society, religion and religious questions may, by such men as he was especially, be most properly introduced. Often have I been present on such occasions, and often have I admired the tact with which the Bishop took advantage of

some apt allusion, and the judgment with which he imparted the most important instruction, without wearying even the young and the naturally gay. On the contrary, I ever found that he carried all his hearers along with him, not to a task which they would avoid, but to an interesting lesson, which they were as willing to learn as he to teach." On such occasions the Bishop probably appeared to more advantage as a speaker than he did in the pulpit, his manner being easier and his matter fresher. Mr. Pressley says he spoke with such accuracy and fluency that his "words might have been printed as they fell from his lips". And Bishop Walker adds yet more emphatically, "On such occasions he was eloquent—eminently eloquent, because every auditor perceived at once that the speaker felt all which he uttered, and no man or woman, I believe, ever heard him speak on such occasions once who did not desire to hear him again and again. There was eloquence in the very modulation of his voice, in his manner and attitude, and there was especial eloquence in his modesty—not the shyness of an awkward man, but the genuine modesty which is consistent with great firmness of character, because it is a Christian grace." Where his character was known, it may easily be conceived how persuasive "the old man eloquent" could be.

It may be supposed that, with his great seriousness of character, the Bishop seldom seasoned his talk with a pleasantry. It would be a mistake, however, to imagine that he never did so. He was not without a sense of humour, as is proved by his letters, which, grave as they generally are, yet contain an occasional lively sally; and he was said to be by no means unaccustomed to enliven his conversation also in the same way. The writer knows of two well-authenticated instances on which he

condescended to the use of a pun. They are interesting chiefly as showing with what ready good humour he could turn the edge of an unpleasant incident. One day one of his clergy, Mr. Walker of Huntly, essayed to drive him somewhere in a gig, but upset him in a ditch. The Bishop bore the accident with great good humour, merely saying to his driver that he "knew he was a good Walker, but he shouldn't attempt driving". On the other occasion referred to, the Bishop was walking on the streets of Peterhead at a time when political excitement ran somewhat high, and found that the boys took a rather troublesome interest in his bushy white wig. "Look at the terrible wig," he heard muttered behind him. "I'm not a terrible Whig, boys," said the Bishop good humouredly, turning round, "but a good old Tory."

Mr. Pressley says the Bishop used often to mention an instance of a play upon words, used not by but to himself, which illustrated his tact in introducing religious counsel or instruction, and also, it may be added, the stolid worldly-mindedness which is often proof against all tact and persuasion also. Walking in from the country one day, he fell in with a sailor boy, with whom he entered into conversation. The boy recounted to him several marvellous escapes which he had had from "perils on the sea". "You seafaring men," said the Bishop, "are often in great jeopardy; you ought to live well." "We *do* live *very* well," replied the boy, "we have beef and pudding three days in the week, and pea soup and pork on the other days, with plenty of grog every day!"

CHAPTER VI.—1798-1816

Adoption of XXXIX. Articles—Peculiar Views of some of Clergy—Bishop Macfarlane—Laurencekirk Convocation—Article XVII. Address to Convocation—His Opinion of Reformation—His ready application of his Learning—Generally referred to as "the Good"—Consecration of Bishops Torry and Gleig—Reforms promoted by latter—Jolly's opposition to Calling of a General Synod—How he spent his Spare Money—Dr. Routh—Death of Bishop Skinner.

Bishop Jolly entered the Episcopal College at a time when there was rather a lull in ecclesiastical affairs. Six years had passed since the Repeal of the Penal Laws; but six more were to elapse before any effectual attempt was made to take full advantage of the Act. The chief step required by the Act was subscription of the XXXIX. Articles by the Clergy. But the Clergy were by no means forward to subscribe. They had not hitherto had to subscribe any such "Confessional". They were in fact, as some of them loudly complained, without any standard or test—each man taught what seemed good "in his own eyes". They were indeed very much in the condition of the early Christians, and not unnaturally some of them, speculating on abstruse subjects, made a perilous approach to certain of the early heresies. They were driven by their antipathies, however, rather than drawn by their sympathies, and had evidently nothing in them of "heretical 'pravity'". Dr. Gleig and some of the Edinburgh Clergy, in their recoil from the extreme Calvinism of the day, ran into something like Pelagianism. Some of the nor-

them Hutchinsonians, and notably Bishop Macfarlane—and the famous John Skinner of Linshart, father of the Primus—through antagonism to the Socinianism of the century, fell into something like Sabellianism and denied the eternal generation of the Son.

Bishop Jolly's well-balanced mind and deep learning rendered him proof against both these extreme tendencies. He stood almost alone among the northern clergy in entirely opposing Hutchinsonianism. His firmness was well tried. It appears from the letters of Bishop Macfarlane* that that ardent Hutchinsonian had striven hard to bring Bishop Jolly over to his own views on the Eternal Generation question. To no purpose, however. At one time he writes that "Bishop Jolly is hopeless"; at another that he "writes me not"; at another that he *does* write him, but only to confute him! "I had lately a long learned letter from Bishop J., wherein in his way he contends for the obnoxious tenet! I have not yet made an answer, but will, D.V. . . . He lays great weight upon Hebrews i. 1, 2, 3—3rd especially; on Romans i. 3, 4, with chap. ix. 5; also Col. i. 15. I do not see these passages with his eyes. But what do you think? he attempts to turn the noted passage of Ignatius' Epistle to Ephesians, beginning εἷς ἰατρός, to his purpose. The attempt is vain," &c. Vain, no doubt, it was as regarded Bishop Macfarlane himself. Reasoning is weak against an ardent theorist like him. But where within the Church, north or south, shall we now seek for the supporters of Bishop Macfarlane's views? They have died

* Passages of these letters are printed in Neale's *Terry*, but they give rather a weak idea of the strong language which the good man usually employed.

out and been forgotten. In fact, neither Bishop Macfarlane's peculiar views nor those of Dr. Gleig were ever very widely prevalent among the Clergy; nor did the supporters of either, so far as appears, have any clear idea that those views were inconsistent either with the definitions of the English Articles or the Decrees of the early Councils. Hence when it became a question of subscribing the English Articles no difficulty appears to have been felt on the score of those views.

The meeting of the Clergy for the purpose of deciding as to subscription of the Articles, and adoption of them as the standard of the Church, was held at Laurencekirk, October 24, 1804. It was called the Laurencekirk Convocation, no doubt to distinguish it from the two Laurencekirk Conventions of 1789 and 1792, which were mixed clerical and lay meetings. The Convocation was solely a clerical meeting, no doubt because the Clergy alone had to subscribe the Articles: hardly, however, a sufficient reason, the Church's standards being a Layman's question as well as a Clergyman's.

Of the Convocation Bishop Jolly was undoubtedly *magna pars.*

It was found when the subject was fully considered in prospect of immediate action, that all the obstacles to subscription were either merely formal or such as were susceptible of ready removal by obvious explanations, *with one exception.* This was the Seventeenth Article. The English Calvinists, confidently claimed this Article as a clear and authoritative enunciation of their views; and the language of the Article is, to say the least of it, quite open to a Calvinistic interpretation. The real question, however, was, is the Calvinistic the only admissible interpretation? For if so the Article was an effectual

bar to subscription, the Scotch Clergy being to a man anti-Calvinistic. But the presumption was entirely the other way. It was very unlikely that the English Church, with its tolerant comprehensive spirit, would on such a subject as Predestination—one so completely beyond man's full grasp and power of definition, and involving such gloomy doctrinal consequences—have shut its Clergy up to one narrow interpretation. The true course therefore in settling the admissible interpretation was that which was urged by Bishop Jolly in a learned and persuasive address, viz., to appeal to the history of the Articles and the known views of their framers, revisers, and imposers, and those also of the long succession of eminent non-Calvinistic English subscribers. This was undoubtedly the most satisfactory mode of solving the difficulty. Bishop Skinner, the Primus, had proposed another. He had prepared a statement explaining the sense in which all the doubtful points in the Articles were to be understood, which statement he intended to propose should be prefixed to the Articles as a preamble, and subscribed along with them by the Scottish Clergy. This intention he happily abandoned on the eve of the Convocation, in consequence of a letter which he received from Sir William Forbes*. Had the Clergy resolved to subscribe with a preamble or explanation, the Convocation would have failed of its chief object. Subscription with an explanation would have been regarded as no subscription at all. The English Clergy would not probably in that case have considered the Scotch as bound by the

* It was by mere accident that this good Lay advice was brought to bear upon the decision. Sir William Forbes only returned from England and heard of the Convocation three days before it met. Had the Convocation been a Convention including laymen as well as Clergymen it would have been otherwise.

same standard as themselves; and would not have "come in". Further, the preamble, in so far as it tended to exclude Calvinists, would have been an unwise and unwarrantable restriction. It was quite enough that the Article was open to a non-Calvinistic interpretation; and if the English non-Calvinists subscribed it without an explanation so surely might the Scotch.

Bishop Jolly's address was well calculated to produce a good effect not only on the members of Convocation, but also on the whole Church, and likewise on "those without," especially the members of qualified congregations. For it not only justified the Church in its interpretation of the Articles and the Clergy in their subscription of them, but it also vindicated for the subscribing Church the character of a Reformed as well as a Catholic body. On this point the Bishop spoke with unusual decision, no doubt because he felt that it was a point on which, from the structure and phraseology of her Communion office, his Church was open to misconstruction, and had in fact been persistently misconstrued. "Our belief," he says, "is diametrically opposite to the corrupt sacrifice of the Mass, which, with all the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome, none more heartily renounce and detest than we in Scotland do," &c.

Dean Stanley mentions * an anecdote which was told to him of Bishop Jolly, that "when he was asked at the beginning of the stir occasioned by the Oxford Tracts, what he thought of the Reformation, he said that 'he had not come down so far in his regular course of ecclesiastical history'". This anecdote is probably one of those humorous inventions which have their origin in the desire to illustrate the peculiarities of an eminent man. If

* Lectures in Edinburgh in 1872.

the Bishop ever really said anything of the sort it must have been in joke, and for the purpose of silencing a troublesome questioner or avoiding an unprofitable discussion. He is said to have on one occasion silenced a young man, who asked him if he believed the members of a certain sect which he thought very unsound would be saved, by referring him to our Lord's answer to a similar question of St. Peter's—"What is that to thee?" Anyhow this address, which was delivered and printed thirty years † before the stir of the Oxford Tracts, and reprinted and circulated nearly twenty years before that event, could leave no doubt as to "what he thought of the Reformation," especially of the English Reformation. "When the dismal night of Romish error and delusion began to be dispelled by the dawn of Reformation, access was not at first and in all places so easy as could have been wished to those early monuments, which would have most clearly detected and exposed the innovations and corruptions whereby the primitive faith and practice had been so grossly adulterated, and happily furnished the uniform standard of doctrine and discipline stampt with antiquity, universality, and consent, the safe and golden rule of Reformation." "The Church of England has been justly called the Bulwark of the Reformation; and her superior strength and beauty consist in her wise regard to primitive antiquity, whereby she threw off the adventitious morbid matter which burdened her constitution, and returned to her early health and vigour."

The Laurencekirk Convocation thus furnished Bishop Jolly with an opportunity of turning his great theological learning to account for the good of the Church. He had

† In Appendix to Bishop Skinner's *Consecration Sermon* (1804), and Appendix to *Annals of Scottish Episcopacy* (1818); see also *Grub*, IV., pp. 116-120.

sometimes a like opportunity in private, his literary brethren occasionally applying to him for an authority or the verification of a quotation. The following is an instance:—"I passed the winter," says Dr. Walker, "from November, 1806, to May, 1807, in Fraserburgh, where I enjoyed the high satisfaction of being able to assist Bishop Jolly (for he had then no assistant) in his Sunday duty, and the still higher satisfaction of seeing and conversing with him daily. On every subject in the wide and varied range of theological study, especially in Christian Antiquity, and wherever an accurate reference to authorities was necessary or desirable, he was equally ripe and ready. In my way to Fraserburgh I passed a week with Dr. Gleig at Stirling, who was then employed in some controversial writing in the *British Critic*, which brought on him the accusation of Pelagianism, by persons who evidently did not know what Pelagianism really is. He was anxious to furnish an accurate account of that heresy; but his principal authority was Collier's *Church History*, and he had not the means of tracing the original authorities to which Collier refers. He furnished me with a long list of queries, with an earnest request to Bishop Jolly to compare the original authorities with which he was familiar, and which he knew he possessed, and to furnish him with the result, which, of course, I was to copy and transmit. The good man instantly applied himself to the task, and we devoted an hour or two for several days in consulting St. Augustine's folios, which the Bishop was regularly reading at the time. What was required was accordingly furnished, in less, I think, than a week; and I recollect that we found Collier quite correct in all his references and in all his quotations."*

* Memoir prefixed to *Sunday Services.*

It is not unlikely that Dr. Gleig made similar applications to the Bishop on other occasions. In a letter which he wrote to Bishop Torry a few years later (December 26, 1810) he says—"I had a short letter some time ago from our excellent brother at Fraserburgh. . . . Short as his letter was it was satisfactory, as everything of his has always been to me. I wish that Fraserburgh and Peterhead were within a day's journey of Stirling," &c.

Indeed the notices of the Bishop which occur in the letters of his colleagues and contemporaries from this time onward are uniformly of a very respectful and kindly tenor. They prove beyond a doubt that, secluded and retiring as he was, he yet wielded a powerful influence. "Good Bishop Jolly" is their almost invariable way of speaking of him. This is the style alike of the ultra-Hutchinsonian Macfarlane and the anti-Hutchinsonian Gleig, and both of them seem equally anxious to have the good man's good opinion*.

On June 16, 1807, the famous John Skinner of Longside, father of the Primus, died, and after his death his works, in three volumes, were published by his son. When the volumes were about to issue from the press, Bishop Macfarlane, who had failed to make an impression on Bishop Jolly on the subject of Eternal Generation, exulted in the probable effect which these writings would produce on Bishop Jolly, who he knew had a great regard for the author. After saying (in a letter to Bishop Torry, 6th Sunday after Trinity, 1808), "Eternal Generation, Bishop Jolly's idol, shall do much yet against *God in*

* Had Bishop Jolly lived in England, and in the 17th century, he would have probably had the epithet of "good" inseparably attached to his name, and been handed down as "the good Jolly," like "the judicious Hooker," "the immortal Chillingworth," or "the ever-memorable John Hales of Eton".

Christ Θεος εν χριστῳ, before it is cast out," &c., he goes on—"I shall be sadly mistaken in case the work doth not cause much noise. My good brother in Fraserburgh's spirit shall be sadly grieved to see it asserted that one Person in Jehovah, who is Eternal God, is *not begotten* of another person who is *unbegotten*. S. Ignatius, though the good Bishop will not allow it, says of Christ, that He is γενητος και αγεννητος, γενητος is a S.S. term in the O. Test. 70 for begotten. (See Gen. v. 4, &c., &c., and S. Matt. i. et *al.*)"

This same year (1808) his neighbour Mr. Torry, of Peterhead, became Bishop of Dunkeld, thus making the third Aberdeenshire Incumbent who had also the charge of a diocese. A very short time afterwards, Dr. Gleig, of Stirling, who had been three times elected to Dunkeld, was at last consecrated as Bishop-Coadjutor of Brechin. Bishop Jolly was always very friendly with both of these two colleagues, and usually acted in concert with them. The elevation of Dr. Gleig was the first step towards redressing the balance between the North and the South. Dr. Gleig was a Northern man long domiciliated in the South, and thus understood both North and South, sympathised with both, and could mediate between them. He was a man of great learning and commanding abilities; and he quickly made his influence felt. There were two crying disorders in the Church, for which he advocated an instant remedy.

1. The habit, chiefly prevalent among the Clergy in the North, of making alterations *ad libitum* in the Prayer Book services.

2. The practice of the Clergy of one diocese interfering with those of another.

There can be no doubt that in his attack on both these irregularities, Bishop Gleig had the cordial support of

Bishop Jolly. The Bishop's letters everywhere show how jealous he was of any interference with diocesan rule, and also how great a stickler he was for rubrical strictness. In this latter point especially he sympathised far more with the South than with the North.

In another reform advocated by Bishop Gleig, we may be pretty sure he had not the active support of Bishop Jolly; but at best his reluctant acquiescence. This was the provision of Canon V. admitting the Representatives of the Presbyters to a seat and vote in the General Synod. There can be no doubt but that this Canon was one of the chief grounds of an opinion which the Bishop expressed in his latter days, that "the Episcopal prerogative was, in some respects, diminished by the Synod of 1811,"* and also a chief cause of the marked disinclination with which, as will be seen, he always contemplated the convocation of another General Synod during his time.

After the General Synod, the Church had rest for five years. No event of much importance took place. Occasionally, however, there occurs a passage in the Bishop's letters which is interesting and illustrative of his character. A short letter written by him hurriedly in the Epiphany season of 1813, in answer, as it would appear, to an inquiry by Bishop Torry regarding a book, exhibits a little variation on his usual style, containing as it does some touches of quiet humour, and disclosing a wider range of reading than would be inferred from his other correspondence. The allusion to Bishop Petrie is very touching, and confirms what has been said as to the tender regard which he ever cherished for the memory of that exemplary Prelate.

"An English translation of Aristotle's Poetics," he

* (March 28, 1828. Letter to Bishop Low.)

writes, "I never saw, although I know that there is such, and one of great merit, according to the review of it which appeared, I think, not many years back. . . . His whole works I have in two vols. folio, and do highly value them, more especially his Ethical performances and his three excellent books of Rhetoric; convinced that the discreet use of his wonderful writings, which of late have been too much neglected, may be turned to good advantage. . . . It gave me pleasure to hear of you the other day by our friend Mr Cruickshank, Excise Episcopus. It delights me to fall in with anybody who knew Bishop Petrie, to think of whom refreshes me; 'that we be not slothful, but followers of them who through faith and patience,'" &c.

There are many proofs in the Bishop's letters that all the money that came into his hands, with the exception of what was absolutely necessary for his own humble requirements, was speedily devoted to some pious or charitable use. A marked instance occurred in the early summer of 1814. At that time an unexpected grant of money appears to have been made to each of the Bishops, from what source does not clearly appear, and after a time the Primus, it would seem, wrote to each of his Colleagues, proposing some common mode of appropriating the grants, or parts of them, to some public, and no doubt ecclesiastical purpose. "It puzzled" Bishop Jolly "not a little," as he wrote to Bishop Torry (June 12, 1814) to answer the Primus; "and gladly," he adds, "would I have consulted with you upon the proposal, which I presume he has made to each of us. The thought is grand, but to me it is grovelling, and came too late, as you will see by my answer, of which I beg leave to send you a copy, as follows:—'While I admire the generosity of sentiment which your letter expresses,

I have sadly to lament that it comes too late for my concurrence, and in order to explain my inability, I am forced to reveal what otherwise I would in great measure have concealed, that I have already actually given nearly the one-half of this wonderful Bounty, and destined the rest to such uses as shall leave for me personally little more, if not less, than a tenth of the whole,'" &c. No doubt great part of Bishop Jolly's share was given to his poorer Clergy. In this year (1814) Dr. Routh, President of Magdalene College, Oxford, published his *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, which he dedicated to the Bishops and Presbyters of the Scotch Episcopal Church (Doctis, piis, Orthodoxis). The dedication was expressly meant as a tribute to the *primitiveness* of the Scotch Episcopal Clergy—the same tribute, in fact, as that paid to them by Bishop Horne, when he said he believed that if St. Paul were to return to the earth, he would join himself to them, "as most like to the people he had been used to". No honour could have been more to the mind of Bishop Jolly; and he expressed his gratification in the warmest terms. In a P.S. to a letter to Bishop Torry (May 5, 1815) he writes—"Admirable Dr. Routh I caress with the highest esteem, and most affectionate Regard—astonishing!"

The writer has before him several excellent letters of condolence from Bishop Jolly to Bishop Torry, on occasion of deaths in the family of the latter. The following extract indicates the state of Bishop Jolly's own health at this time (July 23, 1815):—"You well know whither to resort for the healing balm, which the God of all consolation will not fail to give you, and so strengthen you, that the trial of your faith may be found in praise, and honour, and glory at the appearing of Jesus Christ; whom you love and serve in the dolorous way, which however thorny,

dark, and gloomy, meanwhile leads by His Cross to joy and glory eternal! My poor prayers attend you, who am for my own part a poor, ailing creature at present, and going on with a struggle in my weak attempts at duty," &c.

The zealous and energetic Primus (Bishop John Skinner) died in harness, on the 13th of July, 1816. He had the day before posted with his own hand an address of congratulation to the Prince Regent on the marriage of his daughter, the Princess Charlotte, little thinking what a day might bring forth.

Few churchmen probably mourned the loss of this faithful servant of God and the Church more sincerely than Bishop Jolly. "We are conjunct," he writes to Bishop Torry, "in condolence over our heavy loss. . . . Could you spare but one quarter of an hour, I would beg to know the principal circumstances of our venerable and most worthy Primus's departure from us, which I feel very heavily."

On Bishop Jolly, who, next to the now superannuated Bishop Macfarlane, was the senior Bishop, devolved the duty of issuing mandates for the election of a successor to the late Primus both in his primacy and in his bishopric. Had his own administrative energy been equal to his other high Episcopal qualities, the choice would probably in both cases have fallen on Bishop Jolly himself.

As it was, he remained Bishop of Moray, while the Primus was succeeded as Bishop by his son, and as Primus by Bishop Gleig—probably the very ablest Bishop whom his Church has produced. At this time Bishop Jolly's health, never robust, appears to have been considerably more broken and feeble than usual, and he writes as if he believed his days would be few. "At the time of the worthy man's (the Primus's) death, I was much out of order, but now (D.G.) am in my usual feeble state."

CHAPTER VII.—1816-1820.

Takes more Active Part in Affairs—Moderates between North and South—Election of Bishop William Skinner—Southern Bishops hesitate to Confirm Election—Northern in favour of Confirmation—Labours for Peace—Publication of Skinner's Annals—Death of Bishop Macfarlane—Declines the additional Charge of Ross and Argyle—His Views as to who shall Succeed Bishop Macfarlane—Bishop Low's Election—Bishop Skinner's Protest against Confirmation of it—Labours to Prevent the growth of Ill-feeling between his Colleagues—Extracts from his Letters of this Period.

THE death of Bishop John Skinner, who had so long borne almost undisputed sway, especially in the North, had the effect of drawing Bishop Jolly more out from his retirement, and compelling him to take an active part in the conduct of affairs. The Primus was now on the banks of the Forth, not of the Dee; the North and South were more nearly balanced, and a succession of exciting questions soon arose, on which the North generally differed from the South. Now, as all the Bishops, North and South, not only respected, but also revered "good Bishop Jolly," they all, without exception, paid great deference to his opinions; and there is no doubt that from this time forth, and especially for the next three or four years, he acted a most important part as a peacemaker. We find him writing a great number of official letters, of which he keeps copies. From these it is plain that he was continually pouring oil on the troubled waters, North and South. The first bone of contention in the College sprung out of the election of

a new Bishop for Aberdeen. The North had already one-half of the Bishops. The South wanted it to be content with one-half, and let the next Bishop be chosen from among the able and learned Presbyters of Edinburgh. The Aberdeenshire Incumbents had already two Bishops in their own number. If they would not choose a Southern man, they were urged to choose one of these (Bishop Torry or Bishop Jolly) as their future head; and thus make a vacancy elsewhere for a Southern man. Instead of doing this, however, the Aberdeen Presbyters elected as their Bishop one who was not only an Aberdeen Presbyter, but also the son of the late Bishop, and thus presumably too favourable to the North and its traditions. This shut the door to the men of the South, and according to modern notions there was no recourse. Canonically, there was nothing irregular in the election, and there was nothing objectionable in the Elect. Quite the reverse. A good man was elected by 12 to 2. But things were managed differently in those days. The Canons permitted the Bishops an unlimited power of rejection, and the power had been freely exercised on at least one member of the existing College. Under the presidency of Bishop Skinner, the College had twice* rejected Dr. Gleig, when unanimously elected. It seemed now, for a time, as if, under the presidency of Bishop Gleig, the College would reject Bishop Skinner's son, when all but unanimously elected. But the times had changed more than the Canons, and the North was still strong. The Primus, though very much averse to accept the Bishop-elect, soon became convinced that to reject him would be both unwarrantable and impracticable. Bishop Macfarlane was in a paroxysm

* See *Life of Bishop Gleig*, Chaps. II. and III.

of indignation at the very idea of rejection, and made use of strong language. The Primus soon felt that he had made a mistake by hesitating, and speedily brought the matter to an issue by referring it to Bishops Jolly and Torry, promising to "be guided" by their "joint testimony". That testimony was quickly given, and led to immediate confirmation of the election and early consecration of the Bishop-elect.

All through the controversy Bishop Jolly had been quiet, and striving to calm and "soothe" others. Writing to Bishop Torry, October 4, 1816, he quotes part of Bishop Macfarlane's letter to himself, and appends this note—"A soothing answer from Fraserburgh—to prayer for peace and safety!"

On the same wrapper (enclosing letters from the Primus and Bishop Sandford) he writes to Bishop Torry, "Pray for peace and good understanding—Lord grant!"

On the other hand, when all was settled, the Primus, whose whole conduct in the matter of the election had been, as he believed, greatly misrepresented, sent to Bishops Jolly and Torry a justificatory narrative, with corroborative letters and copies of letters. These documents were to be read or shown to other influential parties. But Bishop Jolly, who knew the danger of ripping up old sores, wrote to the Primus expressing an earnest wish "that the narrative . . . should not pass further than Bishop Torry and" himself. In the letter in which he mentions this, the Primus expresses his willingness to accede to the wise wish, but at the same time his determination to have all the documents carefully preserved, to vindicate his "fair fame". He shows, however, that he thoroughly appreciated Bishop Jolly's motives. He says—"I had a very affecting letter this morning from Bishop Jolly. I am much afraid that

good man does not take the proper care of his valuable life, and in the enclosed note, which I beg you will forward, I have taken the liberty to say so. Whenever his day shall come, it will to himself be blessed, but to the Church it will be an irreparable loss."

The Primus took advantage of him as a peacemaker. Writing to Bishop Torry about the consecration of Mr. W. Skinner, he says—"Mr. Walker has actually carried his threat into execution, and formally resigned his office of Dean of Edinburgh . . . but . . . I am inclined to think that he might be induced to meet Bishop Jolly here, and I am not without hopes that the united efforts of that excellent man and myself, aided by your good offices, might prevail with him to re-assume his office."

The Bishop's transparently single-minded zeal was a most powerful element of persuasion and influence. With many Churchmen, Bishop Jolly's word was probably weightier than an argument; but sometimes, of course, personal interest was weightier than either. The Bishop was unspeakably grieved when a young man, receiving a call from a larger and richer congregation, obeyed the call, at the risk of the total extinction of the poor flock which he left. A double case of this sort gave great trouble to him at this time. The congregation at Duffus, near Elgin, was by far the poorest and smallest charge under his care, and he had the utmost difficulty in keeping it supplied with a Clergyman. It was at this time in charge of a young man, Mr. Fyvie, who was very acceptable to the people. Bishop Macfarlane, however, wanted an assistant at Inverness, and Mr. Fyvie was offered the situation. At the same time Bishop Macfarlane had a son a Clergyman serving in England. It seemed to the Bishop altogether unnatural that in order to supply Inverness Mr. Fyvie

should consent to leave Duffus, and Mr. Macfarlane should refuse to leave England. Mr. Fyvie's removal would prove "the total extinction of" Duffus, while Mr. Macfarlane's return to Inverness "would be supremely comfortable to his father, and beneficial to our poor, old, and rapidly-decaying Church". "Sadly indeed," he adds, "has our poor mother to lament that she has almost 'none to guide her among all the sons whom she hath brought forth, neither is there any that taketh her by the hand, of all the sons that she hath brought up'" (Letter to Mrs. Macfarlane, Oct. 21, 1818). Mr. Fyvie, however, went to Inverness, and Mr. Macfarlane remained in England.

This year (1818) Mr. John Skinner, of Forfar, published his *Annals of Scottish Episcopacy*. Considering how resolutely Mr. Skinner's father, the late Primus, had opposed Bishop Jolly's promotion, it was not unnatural that the latter should feel some anxiety as to the way in which Mr. Skinner should refer to that event. He therefore wrote (Feb. 15, 1818) to Mr. Cruickshank, Arbroath, asking that gentleman to request Mr. Skinner, "salvâ veritate," to "draw a thick veil over the unpleasant circumstances". The result was highly satisfactory to him. Writing to Mr. Skinner's brother, the Bishop (June 15, 1818), he says—"I have received your brother's affecting Book. Looking at 1796, I thank him for his just, yet gentle and delicate account—such as his excellent and ever-memorable father, I am convinced, from the cordial kindness that subsisted between us—of the kind that death itself cannot diminish—would have dictated".

On the death of Bishop Macfarlane, Bishop Jolly wrote to Bishop Torry (August 3, 1819)—"You now feel as we all must upon the blank made at Inverness—to me particularly affecting as having survived all with whom I

set out—so rapid is the succession! Lord bring us all to meet where friendship is in perfection, and shall never end or be interrupted!"

It had been the natural wish of the Primus that Ross and Argyle should now be re-united to Moray, and that Bishop Jolly should take charge of the whole three. The Bishop, however, declined the additional charge, on the ground of failing health and strength.

The Primus had then written to consult him and Bishop Torry about a successor to Bishop Macfarlane. Bishop Jolly forwards to Bishop Torry the Primus's letter, with a copy of his own answer to it. The answer is an excellent illustration of the active interest which the Bishops in those days took in the supply of a vacancy in their number. For the Bishopric he says, "Of Mr. Maccoll I never would have thought, but of Mr. Dean Paterson I own I had thought". Then discussing the claims of Dean Paterson, he concludes him to be, so far as he can judge, a fit person for the office. Then he proceeds "Mr. Buchan, of Elgin, whom I know to be a very respectable Clergyman, was some years ago pointed out by the late Primus as a proper successor, upon the proposal that was then made of my removal to Stonehaven, and taking charge of Dunkeld. Failing Mr. Paterson, I would wish that the Clergy would turn their attention to him, that upon the event of my death, which cannot be far off, he might take the charge of Ross and Moray, conjoined as before. In that case the sixth might be found amongst those of whom you make mention."

The proposal thus referred to, to remove Bishop Jolly to Stonehaven, was, no doubt, one of the many plans entertained by the Bishops in those times for securing, by exchanges, a fit Bishop, resident in, or as near his diocese as

possible. Probably the plan required the consent of too many different parties to be successful.

The recommendations which the Bishop makes seem very judicious, the parties being all resident in the district, and one of them, Dean Paterson, knowing Gaelic. But this time the South was destined to prevail in the election. Mr. Low, of Pittenweem, was chosen. His election was due, without doubt, chiefly to Lay Edinburgh influence,* working through local gentlemen connected with Edinburgh. The manner of the election was certainly not very satisfactory. There were only four electors, and yet there were three candidates proposed. The Bishop-Elect can thus have had only two real supporters—his proposer and seconder. Not on this ground, but on the ground of the lay influence by which it was brought about, Bishop Skinner protested against the confirmation of the election. He stood alone, however, amongst the Bishops. Bishop Jolly wrote Mr. Low, offering him his "most cordial congratulations on your election to be of our humble number"; and told him that he would go to Stirling to his consecration, that "my hands, as well as my heart, may be in the work".

Meantime, Bishop Skinner was far from acquiescing patiently in the consecration of Mr. Low against his protest. He wrote to Bishop Jolly (Nov. 20, 1819) enclosing two letters from Mr. Bowdler, of Eltham, which he averred "completely justified all that he had said or written on the subject of the late election". He had, he said, transmitted to Bishop Low "a fair and candid statement of his reasons for dissenting from his election," and had copied for his perusal both of Mr. Bowdler's letters, adding, "as

* The influence of the Trustees of the Episcopal Fund. Letters of Bishops Gleig, Skinner, and Russell.—*Torry Collection.*

although he is obviously indebted for his own promotion to the exercise of undue lay interference, I trust he may be made sensible of the danger of it, and on another similar occasion . . . he may be induced to join with his Brethren in resisting more *manfully*, and *successfully*, I trust, than they have now done, such a glaring encroachment on their rights, such an open subversion of the Constitution of the Church". This was a pretty plain reproof of his elders! Bishop Jolly received it with a mild touch of humour. "Thus," he writes, "our younger Brother corrects our reputed stumbling, and seems inclined to do it with a pretty smart rod, were it in his hand. Yet after all, I still think, and hope, it shall appear that we have walked very uprightly, and so very surely. But in every case, feeling the frailty of poor human nature, let us love as Brethren, pitiful and courteous" (Letter to Bishop Torry, Nov. 23, 1819).

Bishop Jolly meantime did all he could to prevent the unpleasant feeling between Bishops Skinner and Low, consequent on the election controversy, from hardening into permanent estrangement. Mr. (afterwards Bishop) Walker, of Edinburgh, who had been somehow mixed up in the matter, wrote him that Bishop Low and he, after visiting the diocese of Ross, were to hold on to Fraserburgh to visit him; that they would pass through Aberdeen, and stay there a day or two, but would not call on Bishop Skinner. It made the good man "uneasy to think of his dear friend's resolution, in which he was much afraid" that Bishop Low and he "were conjunct". "I would much rather," he wrote, "dispense with the great happiness of the visit proposed, and wish that they would take the upper road on their return also, than pass through Aberdeen, and even spend a day or two there, without see-

ing the Bishop, or calling upon him". Neither party was disposed to take the right course for conciliation. Bishop Low, by passing Bishop Skinner's door, would add offence to offence. Bishop Skinner on his side seemed to require as due to him an apology to be made by Bishop Low; "Whereas," wrote the Bishop, "they should, without saying a word of that unfortunate affair, dictated upon the sharp spur of the occasion, meet upon terms of general civility, and so open a door to cordial coalition, without which the glory and service of our Divine Master cannot well be promoted by us" (Letter to Bishop Torry, May 6, 1820).

To Mr. Walker himself he wrote (May 8, 1820) in very decided terms—"Still, I trust that when the circumstances of the case are made clear to you, you will be prevailed upon, in company with the good Bishop, (whom God support and long preserve!) to make a passing call of civility for our Colleague in Aberdeen, leaving your names if you shall miss him, as probably may be the case. The two Bishops may soon in duty be called upon to meet, and should keep the way open, and decently paved for it; to which such summary interview would tend. Well do I know that you never infringe the principle of Christian love, and that you are not actuated by any improper principle in the resolution which you have imparted to me. But no man knows better than you, that we are responsible for appearances as well as realities." Whether the conciliatory call was or was not made, does not appear; but no one can doubt that the good man's wise words, sooner or later, produced their effect.

From his letters of this period it becomes easier to obtain a clearer insight than formerly into the Bishop's whole life and conversation. His health was very delicate, and

he appeared to live in almost constant expectation of an early call, for which he was continually lamenting his insufficient preparation. "If you knew all my infirmities," he writes to Mr. Cruickshank, Arbroath, May 18, 1818, "you would give very little for me, observing that I am drawn to the dregs".

In the Holy Week of the year following he appears to have had a shock of paralysis. Writing to Bishop Torry (May 3, 1819)—"It was on that day (Wednesday in Holy Week—the same day that Mr. Fyvie married a couple) that I myself (such was the good and holy will of God!) was in the strangest state that I ever experienced; my sight and senses failing me for the time by something like a slight paralytic shock, of which now I cannot well form the idea. But wonderfully was I comforted, and ever wish to be thankful for my speedy recovery." He scarcely ever refers to his health without giving fervid expression to his deep sense of imperfection and unworthiness, and earnestly desiring the prayers of his correspondents. The responsibility of office also weighs heavily in the balance with him. Writing (Dec. 5, 1818) to Miss Rattray, "grand-daughter of the truly primitive Bishop Rattray and the renowned Mr. Lockhart of Carnwath," he says, "I read my own case in what you describe as yours, and I do think that the penitentially humiliating past is much more applicable to me than to you. Most awful is my responsibility who have been a clergyman for upwards of 42 years, and so little good fruit of my labours—the longer the less." "I was lately aroused," he writes to Mr. Cruickshank, Arbroath (Feb. 20, 1818), "and awfully agitated by reading of Gibbon, the *declining and fallen historian*; that he was wont to say, 'If he could believe the truth of Christianity, he would set the clergy an

example that should shame them'. I confess that I read the words with shame and confusion, and wrote them on the blank leaf of my copy of *The Parish Priest's Manual*, a most excellent little book." There are many expressions in his letters which show that he took a very gloomy view of the Church's prospects. Painful exclamations to this effect are wrung from him by facts indicative of the paucity of candidates for holy orders, and the difficulty of obtaining a permanent clergyman for a poor congregation like Duffus, which generally fell vacant every second or third year. On such occasions he was wont to write despondingly of "our poor declining Church"—"our poor, old, and rapidly decaying Church". To a colleague he writes—"Our destitutions and declining state must sadly affect our hearts". "Lord," he exclaims in a letter to Bishop Gleig (Wednesday before Easter, 1818), "look on mercy on our desolate state, and raise us up from our dust and ruins." Every now and then there is a quaint indication of his great love of books, and of his inveterate bookish habits, with a half-playful admission of his own over-application to study.

Books, indeed, he appears to have treated as loved companions, whom it was painful to have long out of his sight. He "likes to have them at his hand," and when he lends a book, if it is not returned soon, he writes for or asks some one to call for it. Writing of books (to Mr. Cruickshank, Arbroath, May 18, 1818) he says, "I myself have as keen an appetite as ever, but a much worse digestion". He writes of himself to different correspondents as "your book-diseased friend"—"your idle-busy friend". He describes himself as "operose nihil agendo".* and as "spinning out his short thread with application

* The motto of Grotius was "Vitam perdidi operose nihil agendo".

resembling rather that of a student than of a pastor". George Herbert's poems was one of the books that he "liked to have at his hand".

Solid works of piety were great favourites with him. Writing to Miss Rattray, Dec. 5, 1818, he speaks of her "nourishing her piety on such solid books as Mr. Nelson's *Practice of True Devotion* and *The Whole Duty of Man*, which the oftener I read the more I do admire it". "The mention," he adds, "of this most excellent book puts me in mind of what the late worthy Sir W. Forbes told me of Baron Smith's wish to obtain such clergymen for the Cowgate chapel (Edinburgh) as should preach agreeably to the doctrine of that book."

His allusions to points of doctrine indicate the prevailing views of the "old Episcopalian clergy"; only he was generally more strict and rubrical than most of his contemporaries—more rigidly observant of Church days and seasons, and had a greater horror of irreverence, either in word or deed. The first extract shows on what grounds chiefly the old clergy valued the Scotch communion office. They thought it more primitive and more Protestant than the English.

His friend, Mr. Walker of Edinburgh, had spent the winter of 1817-18 at Rome, and from Nov. 30 onwards, had held regular service with the English Liturgy in a temporary chapel, being apparently the first Anglican clergyman who had thus officiated in the Eternal City. The Bishop was highly interested in the event, and wrote thus concerning it to Mr. Cruickshank, Arbroath (Feb. 20, 1818)—"Among the strange occurrences of the day, Mr. Walker celebrating the Eucharist in that renowned city is certainly one—raising its voice against the high mass of the day. But *inter nos*, the office which, as I

presume, our brother there performed [the English office] did not speak so loudly against the other as our Scotch communion office would have done; for a real Romanist would a thousand times rather adopt the English, which may be accommodated to transubstantiation, whereas ours, by retaining the ancient invocation in its proper place, bears irrefragable testimony against the corporal presence." In sending, by request, to Bishop Skinner a copy of Deacon's offices, he mentions how both he and Dr. Deacon had given in different ways practical proofs of their high appreciation of the marriage service in the English Prayer Book. "I use the threefold office of matrimony in ordinary from beginning to end, beautifully expressive of the threefold implication and aspect of that sacred state, *unity*, *society*, and *mystery*. The extravagantly primitive Deacon, you see, when he alters, and new models all the other offices of the English Liturgy—in some things to the better, and in some to the worse—left that as he found it, not being able to improve or amend it." (April 13, 1818).

Bishop Jolly was probably the only clergyman in Scotland at that time who, in celebrating a marriage, "used" the English office "in ordinary from beginning to end". Mr. Fyvie of Inverness, "a raw lad, prematurely (alas!) ordained," was probably the only one who made use of it in any shape in the week before Easter. Bishop Jolly was greatly shocked on seeing the announcement of such a marriage. "Is it possible that Mr. Fyvie could have been guilty of so gross a desecration of the Holy Week as the *Aberdeen Journal* announces? So barefaced an insult upon the solemn commemoration of our Divine Lord's cross and passion is a singularity in our church. I blush and grievously hang down my head upon it—loth to believe it. At anyrate, he should have prevented the

publication of his shame. Do not say I am hot—I am heavy upon it."

There are repeated references in the Bishop's letters to the evil produced by extreme Calvinism on minds that are repelled by it—the repulsion carrying them into the opposite extreme. Bishop Gleig, the Primus, was greatly repelled by the popular Calvinism of the day, and it was thought that in his case the pendulum swung sometimes rather far the other way. He had lately published a charge, in which he treated the subject in his usual style, and Bishop Skinner wrote to Bishop Jolly, taking exception to it. The Bishop answered him (Feb. 7, 1820), "Your opinion of our Primus's charge I acknowledge startled me, not having perceived in it anything obnoxious. On the contrary, when I hastily read it, I considered it a seasonable caveat against that species of Calvinism which seems to spread, and would draw in its train very dangerous consequences; but I will read it again, and consider it better—reverencing your judgment, which it was kind to impart me. According to the trite observation, endeavouring to make straight what is crooked, one is apt to bend the other way; and on those subjects particularly it is not easy to steer the middle course between Scylla and Charybdis. They have agitated and embittered theology since the days of Augustine, who, bending the other way against Pelagius, introduced a statement of the doctrine of grace, whence consequences have been deduced of which I well believe the holy man never thought. It's pity that nobody has attempted to draw out from his works an *Augustinus* of a different complexion from that of Jansenius. Being a warm admirer of St. Augustine, I once had the vanity to think that it would not be a very difficult task. But now I desire to acquiesce in his pious

observation in the 53rd Tract on St. John's Gospel, which, if you have, pray look into it. These words which, in case you have not, I will take leave to extract for you, I think beautiful, in connection especially with the context: 'Audiamus Dominum et præcipientem et opitulantem, &c. Libera nos a malo.'" There are many passages in the letters showing the loving and sympathetic, and even social, nature of the writer. Here is one of several almost identical in expression: "Had I a tear to shed—as I never had, however sorrowful—I could have wept like a child the other day at the sight of a sweet babe under agonising pain. What a dismally distressing scene were all, did not the suffering innocence of the cross throw light and pour comfort upon the vale of misery." (To Mr. C., Arbroath, May 18, 1818. To the same, May 22, 1819.) "I so firmly believe that most comfortable article of the Creed, 'the communion of saints' in the Holy Catholic Church, as to be persuaded that death itself shall not diminish our social intercourse, but only exalt and refine it. Lord, purify and prepare us for that wondrous inconceivable felicity!"

CHAPTER VIII.—1820-1826.

Opposes the Summoning of a General Synod—Reasons—Congratulates Dr. Walker on his Marriage—George IV. visits Edinburgh—Anxiety of Bishops as to their duty on the Occasion—Bishop's Wig—Makes favourable impression on King—Held in veneration by all Classes—Consulted as to Treatment of English Evangelical Preachers in Edinburgh—Receives Application for Orders from Mr. Aitken, afterwards famed as a Revival Preacher—Comes to Aberdeen to meet Bishop Hobart—Congratulatory Letter to Bishop Torry.

TOWARDS the close of 1820 the Primus (Gleig) urged upon his colleagues the expediency of calling another General Synod for the revision of the Canons. Upwards of nine years had elapsed since the last General Synod—amply abundant time to demonstrate the deficiencies of the small Code which was enacted on that occasion.

Bishop Jolly opposed the proposal, as did also Bishop Low. The chief reason which Bishop Jolly assigned for his opposition was that which we have already indicated as likely to prevail with him on every occasion of the kind, viz., the fear lest the evil of legislation shouldover balance the good.

"From various considerations," he writes to Bishop Low (Dec. 22, 1820), "I am fully convinced that the proposed Synod is earnestly to be declined, as not only unnecessary, but highly inexpedient, and rather of hurtful tendency under present circumstances. *Verbum sat, &c.*, Our strength (verily) is to sit still in quietness and in confidence; each in humble dependence studying and labour-

ing at his post, to do all the good he can; and so the whole shall prove good and happy. . . . The times are cloudy and threaten storm; but when we look up, we know that the sun shines above the cloud, and will in due time dispel it. *Faxit!* Remember me at the altar," &c.

To the Primus he writes a little later, "Having with reverential attention perused the second part of your letter, which adverts to the proposal of revising and new-editing our little Canons, allow me to say that it gives and has given me no little pain to differ in judgment on that point from one who is so superior to me in abilities and attainments. Yet after the most deliberate consideration of which I am capable, I am forced to adhere to the sentiments on that head which I formerly wrote to your Reverence, and more fully detailed to Mr. Skinner, who pressingly calls for the Synod. And truly, good Sir, my friendship for you, my regard for your quiet and calm evening of life (near its period in natural course to us both), enters strongly into my aversion to the proposal. We are all by subscribed consent harmoniously united in submission and obedience to the Canons as they stand at present; and it is, I humbly think, our wisdom to cherish the observance, and by quiet, prudent conduct promote the spirit and practice of them. However capable of improvement they may be, and apparently deficient in minute particulars—as every human constitution must be—it is to be well considered, whether the advantage that may be gained by alteration is likely to countervail the inconveniences and dangers that may result from agitating and attempting a change. It is stability that gives strength. *Jachin* and *Boaz* are the two pillars of the temple, which stablish, strengthen, and settle it; whereas pulling down, although with design to raise up better,

threatens without great caution and circumspection, some degree of ruin. The very suspicion of deficiency in any establishment excites distrust, which may as strongly cleave to the new frame; for among other things, which I noted when I read Fa. Paul's *History of the Council of Trent* (replete, as I daresay you think, with maxims and wise observations worthy the attention of every Synod), the following struck me as it is in my copy of the Latin translation:—"Axioma pervulgatum est novas leges sibi-ipsis plus existimationis quam veteribus detrahere." Most wisely, therefore, in my opinion, does the venerable Church of England adhere to her old Articles, Canons, and Rubrics, and turn a deaf ear to all suggestions of alterations, that have been made: *not knowing where or when alterations may end.* Mild firmness is the life of authority. Our strength in such case is to sit still."

Had the Bishop lived in these times, he would probably have come to see that "sitting still" is generally, in the long run, more dangerous than going forward. Anyhow "the venerable Church of England," whose Convocation had been silenced for a hundred years,* and which had therefore no adequate means of adapting itself to altered circumstances, and which besides had, through the State, an assured position, whether it adapted itself or not, was hardly a fit example for a free and disestablished Church.

About this time (Dec., 1820) the Bishop's dearest friend, Mr. Walker, of Edinburgh, now of the mature age of fifty, wrote him a long and gloomy letter "upon the posture of the present times, civil and ecclesiastical," and at the close told him that he was going to be married! The intimation probably took the Bishop a little by surprise, and

* From 1717.

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congratulation on such an event was not much in his line; yet his congratulation was prompt and graceful. He wrote the very day he received the intimation, Dec. 19, 1820—"The latter part of your much valued letter excited in me joy beyond what for a long time I have experienced. Of folly in your happy resolution there is not the smallest spice. It is the dictate, I doubt not, of that 'wisdom from above, pure, peaceable, gentle, full of mercy, and good fruits,' and as such it shall be found by the Divine blessing, for which to rest upon it, and bring it speedily to full and happy completion, I fervently pray and will pray. It was, like yourself, most friendly to impart this joy to me, which refreshes my heart beyond what you may conceive. The hope which you hold out of seeing you double, attended by the dear Captain,* is wonderfully delightful. . . . I shall dream of my dearest Mr. Walker and his wise and happy choice," &c.

Next year (1821) the Bishop had an application for ordination from a clever and zealous young man named Aitken, who afterwards became famous as a revivalistic or missionary preacher in England. He was some time with Dr. Hook at Leeds, and afterwards held a living of his own in the South-west of England. The Bishop had some correspondence with him, and instructed his Dean, Mr. Buchan of Elgin, to "converse freely and easily with the good youth, and draw out his opinion on the most prominent points". "I would not pose him with all Bishop Marsh's Interrogatories, but I should be glad that he felt his mind to agree with his doctrine in sum." The examination appears not to have been satisfactory, and Mr. Aitken had to seek orders elsewhere.†

*No doubt Captain Walker, Mr. Walker's brother.

† Mr. Aitken married a lady of the Arndilly family. He died suddenly about two years ago at the Paddington Station, London.

The visit which George IV. paid to Scotland in the year 1822 was an event which must have excited rather a mixture of emotions in those elderly Churchmen who like most of the Bishops, had in their youth been open and avowed Non-jurors. Not that the Bishops at least were now deficient in loyalty or backward to present themselves with a dutiful address at Holyrood. But the shadow of the past hung over them. Their appearance in the Royal presence might wake up awkward memories, and let loose unfriendly tongues. The preparation of a suitable loyal address thus became to the Bishops a subject of considerable anxiety, as did also the manner in which they would be received by the King, and the vestments in which they should present themselves.

All the difficulties were very happily got over, especially the wording of the address, in which the skilled and vigorous pen of the Primus neatly turned the Jacobite obstacle.

Bishop Jolly's anxieties in regard to the whole matter probably more than equalled those of his southern colleagues. Writing to Bishop Torry respecting the expedition to Edinburgh, he spoke of it as "this astonishing journey," praying that all might "aim and end well".

His southern colleagues, very needlessly added to their other anxieties a lively apprehension lest their recluse brother from the North should not appear at Holyrood in sufficiently courtier-like costume.

Writing to Bishop Torry, the Primus, after dwelling upon a number of particulars which the deputation had to attend to, added, "But there is another thing about which Bishop Sandford is distressing himself exceedingly. It is Bishop Jolly's wig. About this the Bishop seems absolutely nervous; alleging that the King will not be able to

stand the sight of it, and assuring Dr. Russell that it 'would convulse the whole court'."

The wig referred to was no doubt the one which the Bishop was in the habit of wearing on ordinary occasions when Mr. Thomson visited Fraserburgh in 1811, or some years afterwards. "The most noticeable part of Bishop Jolly's costume was his wig. It was indeed something remarkable. It was of a snow-white colour, and stood out behind his head, in numerous curls of six or eight inches in depth."

It is plain from the favourable impression which, by every account, Bishop Jolly made upon the King and court, that he wore on the occasion no such bizarre article of dress as this "objectionable wig". Further, we have good reason to believe that before this time the Bishop had in his possession a very handsome spare wig, which had been presented to him by his friend and parishioner, Lord Saltoun. This wig, it was remarked, the Bishop, for a considerable time, never put on on any occasion, but when he went to visit at Philorth House. Of course, however, he would not have it in his possession without putting it on when about to visit at Holyrood House. He was not a man to fail in doing anything to "honour the King," as was indeed shown by his bearing on the occasion.

"His Majesty," says Stephen, "was particularly struck with the venerable appearance of Bishop Jolly, whose reverential deportment in the royal closet was very remarkable."*

That "venerable and primitive appearance" struck many more besides George IV. One of the Dukes of Gordon is

* Stephen, Vol. IV., p. 503.

said to have remarked that the sight of Bishop Jolly always recalled to his mind the thought of him who "did no sin".*

However it might be elsewhere, in his own immediate sphere of labour, where men judged him by his deeds and his life, no peculiarity of dress or manner ever detracted in the least from the deep reverence with which the Bishop was regarded. "He was held," says Mr. Thomson, "in the utmost respect and veneration by all classes of the community." The strength of this feeling of local veneration is curiously illustrated by the following anecdotes. There lived in Fraserburgh a man of a sceptical turn of mind, who never went to Church; but who always reverently lifted his cap when he met Bishop Jolly. When asked how it was that he, who paid so little respect to the Master, paid so much to the servant, he replied, "My hands winna keep frae my cap".

Another man of like character, or the same man on another occasion, is said to have given to the same question the similar answer—"Bishop Jolly *commands* respect". The veneration of one of the Bishop's Catechumens, now

* While these sheets are passing through the press the writer has received from a clerical friend a statement by a living eye-witness which seems fully to corroborate the above account of the appearance which Bishop Jolly made in Edinburgh, and also the general impression that it was "venerable and primitive". "My informant is Sheriff R—, who, when the Bishops were in Edinburgh at the General Synod in 1829, was," he says, "an Edinburgh lawyer, and quite confirms the tradition that Jolly was the most observed of all our Bishops. The wig was curled and bare, *i.e.*, unpowdered. He wore a thin single breasted coat, and plain bombazine apron and had a simple black stick—I think he said a knobby stick. When he appeared with the others in the Parliament House one of R—'s friends whispered in his ear the single word "Waverley!" meaning plainly, 'There is a figure from the Waverley period.' 'Tis sixty (or then rather eighty) years since.'" This account "was not got by questioning, but spontaneously in the course of conversation".

belonging to the Cruden Congregation, was lately expressed with equal force—"Eh, Mr. Low, ye wouldna' ha' thocht him a human cratur!"

But perhaps the most pleasing *home* picture of the Bishop is the account which Mr. Thomson gives of his manner towards the Fraserburgh children, recalling Goldsmith's Pastor's manner towards the children of "The Village," who

> "Plucked his gown to share the good man's smile".

"When he walked out," says Mr. Thomson, "as he occasionally did on a chilly day, he sometimes wore a brown top-coat very long in the body. As he passed along the streets, the children would frequently run after him and take hold of the skirts of his coat, when he would look round and with a kindly smile, smooth down their curly locks, generally giving them any halfpence he might have in his pocket."

The practice is witnessed to by another friend; but Mr. Pressley's idea is that it was rather sweets than coppers that the Bishop was in the habit of distributing. Very probably he gave sometimes the one, sometimes the other. The late Bishop Stanley, of Norwich, seems to have followed a similar practice—at least he recommended to one young Clergyman, who has recorded the fact, always to carry with him a box of sweets to give to children.

In June 1822, Bishop Jolly was consulted by the Primus on a matter which gave that venerable man some trouble. This was the excitement produced in Edinburgh by the introduction into that diocese of the doctrines of the English Evangelical party. That party had, of late, exercised great, and, on the whole, beneficial influence on the Church of England, partly by recalling attention

to a neglected phase of divine truth, but chiefly by rousing the Church from its lethargy, and promoting the spread of piety and devotion—an effect which a morally earnest party whatever its views may be, seldom fails to produce.

Amongst the long persecuted and well-catechised Episcopal remnant in Scotland there was little scope for the peculiar influence of this party. With them, the party narrowness and exaggeration of view, which in England had as yet helped much more than it had hindered the movement, could be little but a hindrance. Still, in such a place as Edinburgh there must always be a certain number of people ready to fall in with any new and exciting movement; and as the preachers of the new views, Noel and Craig, were eloquent and earnest men, they did not fail to create a sensation and secure a following. It was not to be expected that they would pay much respect to the traditions of Scotch Episcopacy, or the feelings of the Episcopal Clergy. Irregularities ensued, and old-fashioned Churchmen became alarmed as if the Church were about to be turned upside down. Bishop Sandford took the matter very quietly; but the Primus, a native Bishop, meditated some act of repression. It was thus that he wrote to Bishop Jolly—"You have not at Fraserburgh any notion of the state of the Church in the South of Scotland, since the modern Evangelists have found their way into every family, more noted for the appearance of fervent piety than for soundness of judgment; and unless we do more than we are doing to stop the progress of this fanaticism, and do it with prudence combined with firmness and unanimity, I will venture, without the spirit of prophecy, to predict that the Episcopal Church, if the vestiges of the Episcopal Church remain in Scotland, will, in a few years, no more resemble what she was in our younger days

than the present Church of Rome resembles that Church in the age of St. Cyprian".

No formal step was taken by any of the authorities of the Church; but this application to Bishop Jolly may be said to have borne fruit four years later, when the Bishop, urged by his Brethren, took the right way to still the controversy by publishing a learned treatise on the subject on which it chiefly hinged, viz., Baptismal Regeneration.*

Perhaps the most interesting incident in the whole of Bishop Jolly's life was his meeting at Aberdeen in the beginning of January, 1823, with the eminent Bishop Hobart of New York. Besides the similarity of their positions as Bishops of unestablished Churches, there was much in the character and principles of both to give to both a deep interest in their meeting; but even those best fitted to enter into their feelings cannot but be struck with the almost enthusiastic terms made use of by each of these staid elderly men in regard to their actual meeting.

Bishop Jolly tells us with what interest he looked forward to the meeting; Bishop Hobart with what interest he looked back upon it. When Bishop Jolly heard of Bishop Hobart's arrival in this country, "he wrote to a friend that the expectation of seeing Bishop Hobart, in whom he hoped to find a second Seabury, was more like a pleasing dream than a reality, and that rather than miss a meeting which was arranged at Aberdeen, he would make a six days' journey thither on foot".

The two spent at least two whole days in each other's society under the roof of Bishop Skinner at Aberdeen. Bishop Hobart pronounced Bishop Jolly "one of the most Apostolic and primitive men he ever knew". And

* *See ostea*, Chap. X.

"in answer to the question of an Edinburgh Clergyman whether what he had seen at Aberdeen had rewarded him for his long journey in the middle of winter, he said, 'You go from the extremity of Britain to America to see the falls of Niagara, and think yourselves amply rewarded by the sight of this singular scene in nature. If I had gone from America to Aberdeen, and seen nothing but Bishop Jolly as I saw him for two days, I should hold myself greatly rewarded. In our new country we have no such men, and I could not have imagined such without seeing him. The race, I fear, is expired or expiring even among you."

Of course the energetic American Bishop made the most of the much prized opportunity of this meeting. Regarding his brother Bishop not simply as a very learned and exemplary man of God, but as a sort of a primitive father, differing in character and habits from the Christians not only of his own country but also of the existing age, he naturally sought to learn all that he could about him. He did not confine his inquiries to matters of general interest, on which Bishop Jolly's ample stores of knowledge could throw light—he questioned the Bishop closely in regard to his own private habits. The following dialogue, recorded by Dr. Neale, is, we believe, substantially correct, though doubtless exaggerated as to manner.

Bp. Hobart—"I wish to know, Bishop, how you spend the day. I am told you rise very early: what do you do when you get up"?

Bp. Jolly—"I say my prayers."

Hobart—"Oh! of course, but what do you do next?"

Jolly—"I take a cup of tea.."

Hobart—"Very well, what next?"

Jolly—"I read the Lessons."

HOBART—"Good, what next?"

JOLLY—"I read a portion of the Fathers."

HOBART—"Excellent, what next?"

JOLLY—"I sit down to my writing."

In this way the question was plied till the good Bishop had given a full and particular account of the way in which he spent his whole day. Yet it is very unlikely that Bishop Jolly took this close questioning at all amiss. He must have felt that it was prompted by a feeling of deep respect for himself and his primitive example; and that it was not every Bishop's mode of spending his time that Bishop Hobart would have cared to inquire into so particularly.

The Bishop continued to cherish a very lively and affectionate interest in Bishop Hobart, as appears from occasional allusions in his letters; and when the news reached him of the comparatively early death of Hobart, he wrote (Nov. 4, 1831) to Bishop Walker—"With due submission, we must lament the death of dear, good Bishop Hobart—happy for himself, after his unwearied labours of love, but a great loss to the Church below".

The following letter of the Bishop (Jan. 7, 1823) to Bishop Torry, congratulating him on the elevation of his son (John, now Dean of St. Andrews) to the priesthood, is very characteristic:—"My dear, Right Reverend Brother—While I wish you and your family many happy returns of the New Year, with all joy and comfort, I congratulate the Church in general, as well as you in a particular manner, upon the high and acceptable New Year's gift of your amiably promising son's accession to the Priesthood. Long and with shining lustre, may he support the *onus* and *honos* of it, by the Almighty grace which is given to the humble and ensures the crown of glory inaccessible!

"I need not say that my heart accompanied your hand

in the grand work of the great Festival, a most auspicious commencement whence to date the sacred Ministry, the purpose of which, as was given in charge to the Apostle of the Gentiles, is to open men's eyes, and turn them from darkness to the light," &c. "Most cordially do I salute my dear Sacerdotal Brother, whose prayers I request, as well as those of the Bishop." He then proceeds not to "subjoin an admonition," but to make a few quotations from the *Speculum Sacerdotis*, "in which he delighted".

CHAPTER IX.—1824-1826.

Continental Bishopric—Supports Scheme against his two Northern Colleagues—Receives visit from Rev. W. F. Hook—Great mutual gratification—Dean Hook's Account of interview—Anecdote—Suggests to Bishop Skinner recommendation of Observance of Ember Seasons—Receives from Bishop Kaye a copy of his Ecclesiastical History—Extracts from Letters—Receives degree of D.D. from Washington College, Connecticut.

In the later months of 1824 and the earlier of 1825, the Bishops were much occupied with the proposal to consecrate Dr. Luscombe of Paris as Bishop of the British Residents in France and the neighbouring continental countries. This was a proposal to which the Bishops were naturally disposed to accede with the utmost readiness, if only it could be accomplished in accordance with ecclesiastical order. Bishop Jolly hailed it with enthusiasm tempered with caution. "The surprising communication conveyed to me by your most obliging letter and that accompanying it," he writes to Bishop Low, Dec. 3, '24, excites in my mind a grandly expanding idea. If it pleaseth Him 'who alone worketh great marvels' and is Head over all things to His Church to realise it, it shall be productive of much good by His over-ruling Providence, and the guidance of His grace. May He, therefore, prosper the design, and conduct it to a happy conclusion! Your observations upon it, I think most just, and do agree with you that the utmost prudence is requisite upon the occasion. For want of that cardinal virtue, supported by

its theologic sister, many a good design has been frustrated or greatly retarded. Among numberless others in that Divine Storehouse, a favourite text with me is 'I Wisdom dwell with Prudence'."

The great problem was how, in the peculiar circumstances of the case, to procure a deed of election by the clergy over whom Dr. Luscombe was to preside, or some other appointment sufficiently regular to confer jurisdiction. To insist on such regular appointment as a condition to consecration, was, in Dr. Luscombe's opinion, to risk the miscarriage of the project. To him his proposed labours appeared to partake sufficiently of the nature of mission work to justify the Bishops in consecrating him as a missionary Bishop; and his reasoning at last removed the scruples of Bishop Jolly. This the Bishop acknowledged in a letter to Bishop Low, the original, and the keenest promoter of the scheme (January 31, 1825). "The packet [a long letter from Dr. Luscombe], sets my mind at rest, by giving me clearer insight into the grandly important business."

The following letter to Primus Gleig, gives his matured views on the subject (March 5, 1825). "Upon receipt of your last, I wrote to our two worthy Brethren, my good neighbours; and now I find that Bishop Torry, as he informs me, has written to you his consent to Dr. Luscombe's consecration. Mine you had before, and have it now, and I do not despair of Bishop Skinner's, to whom the matter has appeared in a more forbidding light. The design contemplated is certainly grand and glorious in its aspect; but in the way of its accomplishment there have appeared difficulties which 'tis easier to state than to obviate or remove. The Canon of Chalcedon, at least, in its letter looks unfavourably upon it—no previous elec-

tion, no immediate collation to any precise charge being possible as it appears to me, without breach of Canons still more formidable. It will, therefore, require a little stretch of interpretation which, however, may be devised, I hope, to accommodate expressions in the office of consecration to the present case, as, 'This our brother elected,' 'admitted to government in the Church of Christ,' and furnished with the spiritual rod 'within the Diocese, to correct and punish, &c.'. We have not forgotten the jingle and play of words which Dr. Campbell made,* upon what he reckoned the vague and indefinite doings of our predecessors; and as the good Archbishop in friendly caution says, 'We still have our enemies, who will, no doubt, be ready to ring all the chimes of ridicule against us, that they can lay hold of.' But no such must move us, nor any dreaded difficulties make us decline a good work, of hopeful tendency, to enlarge the kingdom of Christ; which our Lord, we trust, has put into our hands. The good Doctor's own statement of it pleases me best, who, desiring the office of a Bishop, for the accomplishment of a good work, resorts, in humble guise, to receive it from the humble Church in Scotland, and being supernumerary there (meanwhile), is sent abroad, that he may look and go about, like the Lord who sends him, to do all the good he can; and He will be with him, according to His infallible promise, to guide him by the works of grace to the Crown of Glory! It is in this sweet hope that I rejoice, and wish that I could give my hand as well as heart to the work, which I pray God to prosper for the Glory of His Name."

The good man was most anxious that there should be

* "That the Bishops consecrated after the Revolution of 1688, by Bishop Rose, "were solemnly made the depositories of no deposit,

as he expressed it, unanimity, as well as majority for the consecration. For this object, he earnestly pleaded and prayed in every letter to a Colleague, but in vain. He must have misunderstood Bishop Torry when he supposed that Prelate to say that he had written to the Primus, giving his consent to the consecration. Bishop Torry had never given distinct and unconditional consent, though both he and Bishop Skinner appeared to have so expressed themselves in letters to the Primus, as to convey the impression that, if the majority of the Bishops should agree, they would not stand out. But in the end they did both stand out for the unattainable deed of election. Their scruples might have been overcome had the matter been better managed. It was hurried on too fast; the Northern Bishops were too little consulted; and above all, Dr. Luscombe delayed too long his attempt to obtain the only attainable substitute for an election deed, viz., a promise of "due obedience" from some of the Continental Clergy.

Thus these two Bishops dissented from the consecration, and insisted on their dissent being recorded along with the consecration. This, Bishop Low, the Clerk of the Episcopal College, at first refused to do, and his refusal led to the interchange of some very sharp recriminatory communications between him and Bishop Skinner.*

The state of feeling existing at that time between certain of the Northern and Southern Bishops, consequent on the election proceedings of '16 and '19, was, as may be supposed, somewhat unfavourable to the harmonious transaction of church business. It impeded the free interchange

commanded to be diligent in doing no work, vigilant in the oversight of no flock, assiduous in teaching and governing no people, and presiding in no Church."

* Letters of Bishops Low and Skinner.—*Torry Collection.*

of sentiment, and it aggravated the evil of any little misunderstanding or technical irregularity. On this occasion, therefore, not less than on the last two occasions, which divided the College, the Church owed in a great degree the comparatively quiet and seemly settlement of the matter, to the mild counsels, the *mitis sapientia* of Bishop Jolly. On each of these occasions he was found on the side of concession and conciliation; pouring oil on the troubled waters, whether the wind that troubled the waters blew from North or South.

The Continental bishopric was a scheme which took a deep hold of the good man's imagination. He was not blind to its irregularities, but he saw in it great possibilities. He hoped much from it; others feared much. The result was a very moderate measure of success. A felt want was supplied to a certain extent and for a time. An example was set, and though the continental Episcopate ceased for a time, with the life of Dr. Luscombe, it was revived, and lives on in the Gibraltar bishopric.

One happy result of the Luscombe Consecration was, that it incidentally helped to make Bishop Jolly better known in the south. "That inimitable young man," the Rev. Walter Farquhar Hook, afterwards the famous Vicar of Leeds and Dean of Chichester—a friend of Dr. Luscombe's—came north to preach the Consecration Sermon. At Edinburgh, Mr. Hook met Bishop Low, who, he says (in a letter to Mr. Blatch), "delighted us by the numerous anecdotes which he related of the Scotch Episcopalians, and especially of Bishop Jolly". In short, Mr. Hook became so interested in the Bishop, that he came all the way to Fraserburgh to visit him.

The following is his own interesting account of his

visit, written about six months before his death.* "I waited upon the Bishop with good Mr. Pressley, and we both received his blessing. He asked me to preach, but I told him that I had travelled far for the purpose of receiving his instructions. He then said, that he would not permit an honoured priest of the honoured Church of England to be in his Church, without taking part in the service. He desired me, therefore, to be his Epistoller, while he was the Gospeller. After service, I spent some time in his company, when he left me to catechise the children. I wished to attend, but he said it would make him nervous, and that he would prefer my remaining with Mr. Pressley. After afternoon service, I remained with him till ten o'clock. When I departed, I knelt down at the threshold of the door, and he gave his blessing with tears in his eyes." It is a proof of the solid qualities of the Bishop that the effect of actual intercourse was to heighten rather than lower the high opinion which Mr. Hook had formed of him from report. In a letter to Bishop Low written after his return to England, May 1825, he says, "With my visit to the North, and with the good Episcopalians there, Mr. Walker will have told you how much I was delighted. My visit to the venerable, primitive, and Apostolic Bishop of Moray (Dr. Jolly),

> Ille idem Præsulque probus, Pastorque fidelis,
> *Ille antiquorum talis imago patrum,*

has left an impression on my mind which will remain indelible to my dying day. Such a union of the most extensive learning, with the most unassuming modesty, of the most Christian meekness with the most orthodox

* In a Letter to the present writer, dated Maunday Thursday, 1875.

firmness, is seldom, in these degenerate days to be found, —but when found will always be had in honour."

The visit left a deep and most pleasing impression on Bishop Jolly also. To him it was an event to have his solitude broken by the voice of a stranger; and when the stranger was one so much after his own heart—so able and ardent a supporter of his most cherished principles —the pleasure of the visit was great as it was rare. In a letter to Bishop Low, Nov. 14, 1826, Bishop Jolly speaks of "that short dream of pleasure, which dear Mr. Hook brought me, by his delightful visit, the relish of which I shall ever retain". And all unconsciously he goes on to supply a rather amusing proof of the interest and trust with which he had drunk in his honoured visitor's words. "When . . . . he (Mr. Hook) and I were talking of you and your exertions, he wound up our eulogy by an expression that was quite new to me, 'Bishop Low is a *house*'. A large house indeed you are, well furnished and completely occupied, but &c." Bishop Low explains the mistake thus:—"A wrong hearing in the good man, in taking *house* for *host*". Mr. Hook, no doubt, applied to Bishop Low the well-worn Miltonic phrase, "himself a host," and Bishop Jolly's ear, dulled with age and little accustomed to the soft southern accent, thought he said "himself a house".

Mr. Hook published his Luscombe Consecration Sermon, prefaced by a short history of Scotch Episcopacy, and sent the Bishop a copy. On this the Bishop wrote him a very affectionate letter (September 17, 1825). "My dear Reverend Brother—The wonderfully pleasing interview, with which you so kindly favoured me, has in the liveliest manner taken hold of my heart, and shall never be erased from my memory! The time was short, but the

day was remarkable, the Octave of Easter, sealing the assurance of our own Resurrection, in virtue of our Lord's, to celebrate an endless day of joy and praise inexpressible". The sermon, "in its peroration," "rising to the sublime of true Christian eloquence," pleased him mightily. "God preserve," he exclaims, "to a good old age the beloved Preacher . . . to the glory of our Divine Master and the good of his Church!" "It is upon his profound humility, of which I have the fullest conviction, that I found my firm hope of his rising to useful and highest elevation; ascending by the steps which lead from Bethel below, to Paradise and Heaven, the House of many Mansions above!"

In a like strain of mingled prayer and prediction, he addresses Mr. Hook in subsequent letters—"Lord preserve and support you," he writes, February 1, 1833; "in health and holy comfort to be a very old man, bringing forth fruit in your old age!"

How would the good man's heart have rejoiced, could he have forseen the fruitful literary old age at Chichester, following up the "epoch-making" middle-life pastorate at Leeds!

Notwithstanding the unfailing courtesy and delicacy with which the Bishop invariably wrote and spoke, he yet, where the interests of the Church were concerned, did not fail to speak out, even at the risk of giving offence. We have seen an instance of this, in his letter to Mrs. Macfarlane, regarding the appointment of an Assistant at Inverness (p. 88). There is another more decided instance at this period. In a letter to Bishop Skinner (September 16, 1825), he takes the liberty to suggest to that Prelate, his "dear worthy Brother, that he would stir up his good Clergy—the far greatest number in any one Diocese, to

set the example of canonical compliance" in the observance of the Ember Seasons. He, himself, had always observed those Seasons since he had been in orders. "While I was in Turriff, and ever since I came here," "of late especially" he adds, he had observed them "very lamely as to fasting, but by the use of the proper prayer morning and evening, throughout the week, beginning on Sunday." He humbly thought that "the observation of the *four times* in respect of the prayer should be universal among us;" "were we all and every one," he continued, "engaged in these prayers at the same time with one accord, such sympathy which has the promise of our Lord's gracious audience would be well-pleasing in His sight, and draw down His blessing; while our private reflection suited to the Season would induce us to confess and lament before Him the coldness of our pastoral love to Him, and make us try to inflame it by devoutly reading, on every Ordination Sunday, the affecting office and vows of our own ordination".

"I write thus freely," he concludes, "because I know that you will not suspect me ὡς ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος." Certainly he, of all the Bishops, was the least likely to encroach on the rights of a Colleague.

Bishop Kaye of Bristol (afterwards of Lincoln), published this year (1826), his Ecclesiastical History of the second and third centuries—illustrated from the writings of Tertullian—and he sent the Bishop a copy, through their common friend, Dr. Walker of Edinburgh. The Bishop sent him a letter of thanks (September 15, 1826). He "received with astonishing surprise, his Lordship's very highly valued gift". He had "read the book with great pleasure and profit," "holding out," as it did "a perfect pattern of the fruit to be reaped, and the best manner of reaping it from the works of the ancient Ecclesiastical Authors".

He was delighted "to find that his Lordship's opinion of St. Augustine, and his distance from the doctrine and spirit of Calvin," agreed with his own. "Where," he adds, "divine love burns so clear and strong, as in St. Augustine, one cannot anticipate the spirit of Calvin's horrible decree, which chills the heart, and throws a cold damp upon the love of God, who is love itself!"

Then he took the liberty to suggest that His Lordship should undertake the task of proving that Augustine was not a Calvinist. "Albertinus upon the subject of the blessed Eucharist has, I think, perfectly cleared his sense, and fairly recovered him from the Romanists, who claim him as theirs, upon their astonishing doctrine of Transubstantiation, as much as the Calvinists do under their dismal decree. And another Albertinus, who studies the Fathers to better purpose than the former, may rescue him from the imputations of the Calvinists. Your Lordship's great powers . . . are equal to the task."

Almost every letter he writes contains some edifying thoughts. Whatever may be the subject on which he writes, he extracts from it some pious reflections, usually connecting his remarks with the subject of the passing Christian season; of course, he lost no opportunity of improving a solemn event of the day. At the beginning of the year (1826), he lost his neighbour, Mr. Sangster of Lonmay. In a letter to Bishop Low (January 4, 1826), he states the fact, and says that from his great age, Mr. Sangster was disabled from "exhibiting that example in dying, which otherwise was to be expected from his long cultivation of the christian and clerical life". "Humble penitence," he adds, "under our very awful responsibility is our best exercise in life and death, with firm trust in that only saving Name; which we now particularly com-

memorate. I never forget St. Augustine's use of the seven Penitentials on his death-bed; nor the good and great Dr. Hammond's making the *Miserere* his midnight devotion."

Bishop Low, who was in friendly correspondence with some of the American Bishops, made, at this time, successful application through Bishop Kemp of Maryland to the authorities of the American Colleges for honorary degrees for Bishops Jolly and Torry. "The degree for the Bishop of Moray was procured by the kindness of Bishop Brownell from Washington College in Connecticut, the only pure Episcopal College in the United States. The vote . . . was unanimous." The first intimation Bishop Jolly had of the application was the communication of its successful result; which he received with his usual humility; never anything "more astonishingly surprised" him. He was "quite abashed and silenced by the exorbitant honour conferred upon him". It "could serve only to humble him under a sense of his own emptiness". "He would not have known how to accept, if his worthy brother and neighbour had not equally shared with him."

The good man, in his humility and ignorance of the world, wrote as if he thought himself all unworthy of an American doctorate. But American degrees would rank high in this country had they never graced a less worthy name than that of Alexander Jolly.

CHAPTER X.—1826-1828.

Visited and described by Robert Chambers—Publishes his work on Baptismal Regeneration—Argument of the Work—Makes over his Library to the Church—Church Institute—Panton Trust—General Synod convoked in June, 1828—Declines to attend—Synod enacts a "barrier act," and a quinquennial General Synod Act—Objects to these enactments—Agitates for their repeal—Succeeds—General Synod of 1829 repeals them.

In Chambers' Book of Days (Vol. I., p. 166) there is an account of a call which the writer—no doubt Mr. Robert Chambers himself—made on Bishop Jolly. It is interesting to note the impression which the Bishop made on this visitor, who writes as one who was outside the Communion of the Episcopal Church, and altogether regarded the Bishop from a different standpoint from that of the other witnesses to his character whom we have cited. The points of view are different, but the pictures, it will be seen, are perfectly harmonious.

"Even in Scotland, chiefly from the introduction of English clergymen of fortune into the Episcopate, a Bishop is beginning to be, typically, a tolerably well-off and comfortable-looking personage. It therefore becomes curious to recall what he, typically, was, not many years ago. The writer has a perfect recollection of a visit he paid in the year 1826, to the venerable Dr. Jolly, Bishop of Moray, who was esteemed as a man of learning, as well as a most devoted officer of his church. He found the amiable prelate living at the fishing town of Fraserburgh, at the north-east corner of Aberdeenshire, where he officiated to a small

congregation. The Bishop having had a little time to prepare himself for a visitor, was, by the time the writer made his call, dressed in his best suit and his Sunday wig. In a plain two-storey house, such as is common in Scotch towns, having a narrow wooden stair ascending to the upper floor, which was composed of two *coomceiled* apartments, *a but and a ben*, and in one of these rooms the beautiful old man—for he *was* beautiful—sat, in his neat old-fashioned black suit, buckled shoes, and a wig as white as snow, surrounded entirely by shelves full of books, most of them of an antique and theological cast. Irenæus or Polycarp could not have lived in a style more simple. The look of the venerable prelate was full of gentleness, as if he never had an enemy, or a difficulty, or anything else to contend with in his life.

"His voice was low and sweet, and his conversation most genial and kindly, as towards the young and unimportant person whom he had admitted to his presence. The whole scene was a historical picture which the writer can never forget, or ever reflect on without pleasure. Bishop Jolly lived in a style nearly as primitive as Bishop Low; but the savings which consequently arose from his scanty income were devoted in a different way. His passion, apart from the church, was for books, of which he had gathered a wonderful quantity, including many that were of considerable value for their rarity."

In the summer of this year (1826), the Bishop published a short treatise entitled "A Friendly Address on Baptismal Regeneration". He was urged to the composition of this work by his friend Mr. (afterwards Bishop) Walker of Edinburgh, and other influential churchmen in the South, with the view of repelling the sweeping attacks which had just been made on the whole system of Scotch

Episcopal teaching by the Rev. Edward Craig of Edinburgh. The Bishop treats the subject with copious learning, with exemplary calmness and moderation of statement, and with a persuasive earnestness and unction.

It is hardly necessary to say, that in his argument he lays great stress on the authority and witness of the early Christian Fathers,—those "holy men and martyrs of the purest times, immediately after the Apostles". It is surely a sound and safe rule, in seeking for pure water, to go as near as possible to the fountain head. It was also part of the Bishop's humble and modest nature to trust greatly to those whom he venerated highly; though the epigrammatic saying regarding him, quoted by Dean Stanley, that he "had an authority for everything and an argument for nothing," has in it probably less than the usual modicum of truth that is to be found in such sayings.

After carefully examining the Scriptural authorities on the subject, the Bishop quotes Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Theophilus of Antioch, and Tertullian, "who unanimously testify that baptism received from Christ and His Apostles is the mean or sacrament of our regeneration, or birth from above, raising us to the spiritual life". And after the Fathers, he cites the testimony of the liturgies: "In all the liturgic forms for the administration of baptism, East and West, Greek and Latin, . . . regeneration is inseparably connected with the reception of baptism".

"It appears then," he concludes, "from Scripture, as interpreted in the earliest and purest times by those who came nearest in succession to the Apostles, and best understood the sense and import of their inspired writings, that the word *regeneration* means the grace or supernatural gift, which God, the sole author of life, spiritual as well

as natural, confers by the holy sacrament of baptism; so that baptism and regeneration are what we call convertible terms, the one may be used for the other—the outward effectual sign attended by the inward grace."

The Bishop then goes on to show that the Church, through her other ordinances, supplies the means of gradually unfolding and maturing the germ of life thus breathed into the soul. According as it is or is not thus developed, the baptismal gift is everything or nothing. It may lie for ever dormant, or it may bloom into the most vigorous "life of God in the soul". But, "all originates in baptism, and our whole Christianity is there summed up, and thence grows, as all the branches of a tree from its seed and root".

It was natural that the friends who had urged the putting forth of the "Friendly Address" should have spared no pains to ensure it a wide circulation. "I am happy to announce to you," wrote Mr. Walker of Edinburgh, May 27, 1826, "that Bishop Jolly's Tract is finished. . . . I trust that all parties, Bishops, Presbyters, and orthodox Laymen will bestir themselves in giving to this work of the venerable Bishop all the circulation and influence in their power. That it will be attacked we cannot doubt, and must even desire. If we all do our duty, this will do good, &c."

The circulation of the Tract was, however, far from being limited to the occasion which called it forth. At least two editions were published after the Bishop's death, one by Burns of London (1840), and another by A. Brown & Co., Aberdeen (1850), both with a short memoir by Mr. Cheyne prefixed.

Shortly before this time the Bishop had made over to the Church his valuable library, thereby divesting himself

of almost his sole earthly possession. For the remainder of his life, though retaining the books and adding to their number, he regarded himself less as their owner than as their custodian. In this character, indeed, it seems that from some church source a certain annual sum (£15) was paid to him during the remainder of his life.

Very soon the Bishop's 'zeal' in this matter 'provoked' other contributors. "On the 28th of December last," wrote Mr. Walker of Edinburgh, in the letter of May 27, 1826, already quoted, "Bishop Low transmitted to me the sum of £100 towards a fund for procuring a house for the library which Bishop Jolly has actually made over to us, and for other purposes of the Pantonian Institution. Good Mr. Cruickshank of Muthil transmitted to me an equal sum for the same purpose. On the 16th current, I devoted in like manner a similar sum, the whole in the meantime bearing bank interest. If it please God to guide me in my way, to prosper my journey, and bring me happily home, I mean to draw up a memorial, to be circulated, in order to raise contributions for this pious and very necessary purpose." Thus originated that *quasi* Church Institute in Hill Street, Edinburgh, so well known to the Theological Students of præ-Glenalmond times, where the Pantonian lectures were delivered, where the good Bishop's books were kept and his portrait hung, and whither the clergy of Edinburgh resorted to read the Church papers and periodicals, and hold fraternal converse.

It may, indeed, be said that the whole Panton Trust in connection with which these contributions were made, was due to Bishop Jolly. Miss Panton was a friend and parishioner of the Bishop's and there can be no doubt that it was chiefly by his influence that that pious lady was guided in making her handsome and very useful

bequests; including provision for a theological professor in Edinburgh; bursaries to Students, both in Arts and in Theology; and annual grants to poor incumbencies.

Bishops Jolly and Low continuing steadily to oppose the Convocation of a General Synod, the Primus decided at last not to wait for the consent of the whole of his colleagues, but to act on that of the majority. He accordingly summoned a General Synod to meet at Laurencekirk, on June 18, 1828. The Synod met; but Bishop Jolly did not attend it, nor did Bishop Low. The general result of the Synod's deliberations certainly countenanced the belief that, for the time the "drag" had been removed from the wheel. The Synod went faster and farther than it had ever done before, or has ever done since. Two important provisions borrowed from the American Code were embodied in Canon XVI.—a *barrier act*, requiring that the acts of the General Synod, should be submitted to the Diocesan Synods, and be approved of by them, before they had the force of law, and a clause providing that a General Synod should be held every fifth year.

It was the fear of such new laws that had made Bishop Jolly steadily oppose all proposals for a General Synod. The "Episcopal prerogative" had been, he thought, "diminished" by the Canons of 1811—and on any new legislation, modern ideas would prevail and diminish it still more. The *barrier clause* would, he thought, do so to a ruinous extent—it would "lay our Episcopacy in the dust".

It is one of the most conclusive proofs of Bishop Jolly's great moral influence, that he speedily procured the repeal of this, and of all the other important legislation of 1828. He again turned the scale between North and South. Of the four Bishops that met at Laurencekirk, the two Nor-

thern Prelates, Skinner and Torry, were favourable to the provisions of Canon XVI. The two Southern Bishops, Gleig and Sandford, were at best only indifferent. The Primus, indeed, avers that he was decidedly opposed to the *barrier* clause, and only suffered it to pass through inadvertence. There can be little doubt, however, but that for the opposition of Bishop Jolly, and that of his friend, Dr. Walker of Edinburgh, the XVIth Canon would have remained law, and there would have been no Synod of '29, to undo the work of the Synod of '28. The following letters show how the Bishop worked to bring about the desired result. To Bishop Low he writes :—

"Long may you enjoy that great blessing [health], with every strengthening comfort, which you will employ to promote the good of our Church, and watch over and guard its primitive Constitution, without the preservation of which, its well-being, its very being is in danger. I do confess that, in the present circumstances, I dreaded the convocating of a Synod, but I did not dream that it could at once have taken courage to raise a battering-ram, the impulse of which, if it shall go into operation, must certainly shake our frame. *Avertat Dominus!* Our judiciously wise and penetrating professor [Dr. Walker], saw through it at once, as soon as it met his eye, while others seem to have shut theirs, while it was constructing. The Primus has been outwitted, and now seems to be ashamed of his inadvertency. God help us in all we design and do, to have a single eye unto Him, that we may be enlightened, and so our faces shall not be ashamed, while we seek not our own glory, but the Glory of Him whose commission we bear, and must preserve, as from the Apostles it has been transmitted to us; whereas, this new modification paves the way for Presbytery. But I presume it had an

aspect, in the first place, towards the American model. That is all, perhaps, that the republican State would bear. But we may venture to say, that they that have drunk the *old* wine, will not readily desire the new, but say the old is better. May we ever will and acquiesce in the old path. This, meantime, *inter nos* vigilant observers calm and clear, that we may see the better." To the same (Nov. 10, 1828), "I began to carp even in the Title page. I would have humbly objected to the Prefix of Protestant, which implies, and seems to admit, that there is another Episcopal Church in Scotland, under a different denomination; but we acknowledge no other, whether from Rome or Geneva (for the Presbyterians, as their American Brethren did, may say they are Bishops, each of his Parish, with his Elders and Deacons, so-called), and, therefore, it appears to me, that it would have been more dignified, more suitable I mean, to the honour which we claim in our Lord's name, to have kept our Church's Title as it stood before, simply, without seeming to divide or compound with any. This, however, is but a trifle, easily to be yielded. But I see other things, which I think of more serious consideration. . . . The 16th Canon at one blow lays them all prostrate, and renders the Synod *felo de se*. But to be very serious, all wit aside, our present circumstances seem to require very great wisdom (Lord mercifully guide by His light and grace), to extricate us out of a very perplexing dilemma. . . . Every Episcopalian must rise up against the *impossible* enactment (for *Id possum, quod jure possum)* which in effect would lay Episcopacy in the dust; but not a member of the Synod could have so intended, and yet such is the plain construction of the words, which totally exauctorate and nullify the Synod itself, till the voice of the Church at

large shall speak and breathe life and spirit into it. . . I pray you, therefore, for our Divine Master's honour, consult with our most excellent friend [Dr. Walker], as to the best expedient. . . . . He is now of our Council.* Much do the Bishops stand in need of his vote in their number. But let us all be very calm, and . . . unite cordially as one man, to study the things that make for peace and mutual edification."

It was chiefly through Dr. Walker that the Bishop worked upon his southern colleagues. To him he wrote (Nov. 13, 1828), "I have gone over the Canons with care. . . . I wonder that they seem to have passed. But the 16th surpasses wonder. I have been favoured with two letters from our worthy friend of Ross—both of us are perfectly at a loss how to account for the striking of such a blow as lays our Episcopacy lifeless in the dust . . . To me Bishop Skinner's opinion is perfectly astonishing, as is the supine oversight of the Primus."

The Bishop wrote to Bishop Low (Dec. 19, 1828), "I am very glad to hear of Bishop Sandford's rejection of the blot, and I wish that, in an easy epistolary way, you would draw from him his testimony in writing". To keep "all cordially united we must earnestly strive, our hearts firmly knit together in love, however our heads may differ in size". He at last wrote to his two Northern neighbours, Bishops Torry and Skinner, through whose influence chiefly the obnoxious Canon had been passed, and finally (Jan. 23, 1829), he wrote to the Primus on the subject. "But truly, my good sir, in this new code, there appears to me an innovation, which amounts to a total change of our Constitution, and opens a gap to let

* The Pantonian Professor of Theology had now (by the Canons of 1828) been made an *ex officio* member of the General Synod.

in an overwhelming flood of innovations. But . . . I have been comforted by hearing repeatedly that this clause of the astonishing Canon you utterly deprecate. . . . Truly, it appears to me, that without delay, proper steps it is absolutely necessary to take, in order to rectify this prejudicial oversight which . . . unhinges our Constitution, and in its practical tendency would nullify our Episcopacy . . . and prostrate it to the level of the Congregational Scheme."

This letter drew forth an early and most satisfactory reply. The Primus assured the Bishop that he had never really given his assent to "that Canon," nor in fact ever seen it "till he received it in print from Edinburgh"—and expressed his resolve to call another General Synod to reconsider it. This "touched" the Bishop's "heart, and excited his tender sympathies". All his reluctance to a Synod vanished at once. He wrote to Dr. Walker (Jan. 29) to do him the favour "to report my most ready and hearty accession to the proposal of a Synod, and my solemn promise to attend (God willing) at any time and place that shall be appointed". The Synod met at Edinburgh, June 17, 1829—and Bishop Jolly had his own way in almost everything. The *barrier* clause and the Quinquennial General Synod disappeared from Canon XVI. The prefix "Protestant" was not indeed as yet extracted from the title of the Church, but the reason probably was that amid the pressure of such serious work, it was overlooked. The Bishop in fact admitted that it was "but a trifle"; and his objection referred not to what the term Protestant expressed regarding his own Church, but to what it implied regarding other Churches—an objection, which in these days of division must in some degree cleave to almost any possible title. It is very

unlikely that any title that could now be framed for the Church, especially with a view to assert its claims and define its position would be acceptable even to a majority of its own members. It would express too little or too much. It would be too modest and "humble," or too aggressive and provocative.* It is "more dignified," therefore, to retain the name which has been sanctioned by time and general use, and which at least answers sufficiently the purpose of a proper name.

*The objection of those who dislike the prefixing of the term 'Protestant' or (though the case is not exactly the same), that of 'Catholic' to the title of a particular Church may perhaps be stated thus :—"There ought to be but one Church in a nation; but to be complete and pure, the one church should be both catholic and protestant. It should maintain all the articles of the faith, and also repudiate all the errors which have been engrafted upon the faith. Do not, therefore designate your Church by a title, which may seem to imply that it has a claim to only *one* of these essential characteristics. Do not call it 'Protestant' lest you suggest that it is not also 'Catholic' nor Catholic lest you suggest that it is not also Protestant."

Before the meeting of the Pan-Anglican Synod of 1867, the late Bishop Forbes, of Brechin, wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury objecting to the title "*Protestant* Episcopal as applied to the Scotch Church".—*Life of Bishop Gray of Cape Town*, II., p. 337.

Shortly before leaving the Communion of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, the late Mr. Drummond, of Edinburgh, issued a protest against the action of the Bishops of that Church in styling themselves in a pastoral letter "Bishops of the Reformed *Catholic* Church of Scotland".

CHAPTER XI.—1828-1837.

Publishes a Work on the Sunday Services—Origin of the Work—Its Success—His friend Dr. Walker made Bishop of Edinburgh—Publishes his Treatise on the Sacrifice in the Holy Eucharist—Teaching of the Treatise—Displays unabated Mental Vigour and Activity—Attention to Candidates for Orders.—Extracts from his Letters of the Period—Fervent Confessions of Imperfection and Shortcoming—Oxford Movement of 1833—Becomes unfit for Active Duty—Consents to the "free election" of a Coadjutor.

TOWARDS the end of 1828, the Bishop published the most popular of his works—"Observations upon the several Sunday Services and Principal Holydays, &c". It forms a prose *Christian Year*, the only thing wanting to its completeness being that "the Inferior Holydays" instead of being treated separately, are dismissed with "a few general remarks upon" their "design". No doubt it is correctly stated in the "Advertisement" that the materials of the work were made use of by the Bishop in a part of his Sunday Evening Catechisings. But from the account of the origin of the work furnished to us by Mr. Pressley, it does not appear as if catechetical instruction was the original, or at least the sole object of the compilation of it.

"My uniform practice," says Mr. Pressley, "for the almost twenty years that I officiated as his curate was to wait upon him at about half an hour before service, and hold conversations on the various points connected with it; and it came up at one particular time that he had been in the habit of writing down week by week some

short thoughts on the various Sunday Services; and having them on his table, I begged him to let me have the benefit of hearing them on the particular Sundays to which they applied. This was done for months, to my great edification. On mentioning the circumstance at one of our Synods in Aberdeen, the Bishop there suggested the propriety of Bishop Jolly's publishing his Reflections for the benefit of the Church at large, which on my return I mentioned to him, and I rather think that the Bishop of Aberdeen urged him by letter to the same effect".*

When the Bishop had agreed to publish, Mr. Pressley gave him valuable assistance in preparing the work for the press. He transcribed the manuscript, a service which the Bishop acknowledged in the following characteristic terms on the fly-leaf of the printed copy of the work which he presented to the Transcriber:—"With affectionate Regard and Goodwill, Presented to the Revd. Charles Pressley, entitled to the hearty thanks of his Friend for having—amidst the studies and duties of his Place, to which he pays unremitting attention—transcribed with great accuracy, the following little work for the Press. May he long survive, guided and strengthened by the Divine Grace, to set forth the Glory of God, and set forward the Salvation of men!"

There is no doubt but that Mr. Pressley is "entitled to the hearty thanks of" the Reader of the work as well as of the Writer. For though he makes light of it himself, he, in the course of transcription, made such emendations in the style, as could not fail to render the work much more readable. The chief of these was the occasional division of a rather long and straggling sentence into two—an emendation which the readers of the old English Divines, on

* Letter to the Writer of this Memoir.

whose style the Bishop's was mainly formed, will highly appreciate. Mr. Pressley did not expressly ask permission to make these little corrections, but left it to the Bishop, who read the transcript as it was made, to say whether he approved of them or not. The Bishop read and approved, but made no remark as to the alterations. It may be safely assumed, however, from the high terms in which he expressed himself regarding the transcription both of this work and of that on the Eucharist, that if he noticed them at all, he regarded them as corrections and improvements. When the work was going through the press in Edinburgh, some critics under whose eyes it came, wished to have the style still more modernised. "The style is peculiar," says Bishop Walker, in the advertisement to the first edition, "and some literary friends suggested the propriety of somewhat altering and modernising it. This, after serious consideration, however, was at length declined with their perfect concurrence," for three reasons, the chief of which was, that "any essential and general alteration in the style, as it would interrupt the uniformity, might also change the spirit, and impair the influence of the work".

The work was published by Grant & Son, Edinburgh, and within twenty years it reached a fourth edition—surely a conclusive proof of popularity, especially if, as we believe was the case, the circulation was chiefly confined to the very limited Episcopalian public of Scotland.

In February, 1830, the Bishop was highly gratified by the election of his very dear and intimate friend Dr. Walker, Pantonian Professor of Divinity, to the bishopric of Edinburgh, vacant by the demise of Bishop Sandford. Dr. Walker was a native of Fraserburgh, to which place he occasionally paid rather lengthened visits, which visits, from his ready professional help and congenial companion-

ship, were always a source of great comfort to the Bishop. The Bishop showed how much his heart was in the event, by going to Stirling in the trying weather of early spring to attend the consecration of his friend, which took place there on the 7th of March.

Next year the Bishop published his work on the Eucharist, entitled "The Christian Sacrifice in the Eucharist, considered, as it is, the Doctrine of Holy Scripture, embraced by the Universal Church of the First and Purest Times, by the Church of England, and by the Episcopal Church in Scotland".

This work "was suggested," says Mr. Pressley, "by Lord Medwyn and some other friends in Edinburgh, as a set-off to the very lax notions which then prevailed on the subject, and strange to say, it was accounted a rather high view of the subject, far in advance of what was then generally maintained".

The Bishop's doctrine of the Sacrifice is, as has been observed that of the English Non-Jurors. It is that also of the highest school of Scottish Episcopal Divines which had prevailed up to that time—the school of Rattray, Innes and Petrie.* The Bishop himself thus distinguishes

* Bishop Rattray not only influenced opinion by his published works, but also to some extent through manuscript treatises of his which were circulated among the clergy, and some of which are still extant in Bishop Jolly's handwriting. Bishops Innes and Petrie took a yet more effectual way to disseminate his and their views. They inculcated them in two catechisms—the forty lesson, and the nine lesson catechisms, which were pretty largely used in the North. "The forty lesson Catechism was the work of Bishop Innes, based upon the teaching of Rattray, and was first printed in 1765—afterwards in 1803 and 1819. The nine lesson Catechism was abridged from the forty lesson one by Bishop Petrie, and adopted by Bishop Jolly; and this little work was reprinted by the Rev. G. H. Forbes, Burntisland, as Bishop Jolly's Catechism." *Rev. George Sutherland of Wick to writer.* Mr. Sutherland says he had his information from the late Rev. Nathanael Grieve of Ellon.

his views from the Roman view—"The astonishing doctrine, which to the horror of the enlightened mind pretends to sacrifice in the Mass, the very substantial flesh and blood of Christ—a sacrifice in itself, and by its own inherent merit and virtue, propitious which had usurped the truly Scriptural and primitive MEMORIAL OF BREAD AND WINE, representative of the Body and Blood of Christ". The "truly Scriptural and primitive view" makes the sacrifice an offering not of the actual Body and Blood of Christ, but of bread and wine representing the body and blood. The sacrifice is a "Memorial of Bread and Wine". This is not a view which could at any time be regarded as very high, and twenty years afterwards it would by High Churchmen have been generally considered low. Yet there is no reason to doubt Mr. Pressley's statement that it was then "accounted a rather high view of the subject". In his preface the Bishop quotes a "brief historical detail" of a "learned and judicious friend," probably Bishop Walker, who says—"The prevailing notion in the Church of England at present I believe to be that of Cudworth [also of Warburton and Waterland] which is 'that the Lord's Supper is not a sacrifice, but a feast upon a sacrifice'". The Primus, Bishop Gleig, in his "Directions for the Study of Theology," published two years previously (1829) stated that he rather inclined to this view.* The fact probably was that though Churchmen generally continued to have

The above two Catechisms were superseded in the Diocese of Aberdeen by other two compiled by Bishop John Skinner, which used to be known as the "The Muckle Bishop's," and "The Little Bishop's" catechisms.

* "Of these three views. . . . I perceive little or no essential difference between the first and the third (Johnson's and Cudworth's); though I should certainly prefer calling the *Eucharist*, or *Lord's*

as high a view as Bishop Jolly of the Eucharist, *as a means of grace* to the worthy receiver, many of the Clergy, and most of the Laity, had come to think of it only *as a Communion*, not dreaming of any other sacrifice in connection with it than the "living sacrifice"—on which the Bishop himself laid so much stress—the offering "of themselves, their souls and bodies".*

The Bishop's view of the mode in which the grace of the Eucharist was bestowed was this:—After the invocation of the Holy Ghost on them, the elements "become the body and blood of Christ *in spirit and power*—made what they are by the sanctifying power of the Holy Spirit, for the communication or conveyance of pardon, grace and glory"—(p. 106). Thus the Bishop's view of the presence, as that of the Sacrifice, is the view of the Non-jurors, English and Scotch—maintained by the Bishop, as by those learned divines, to be "the truly Scriptural and primitive doctrine"—the doctrine of the primitive Fathers and the early liturgies—free alike from the excess of the mediæval and from the defect of the modern doctrine.

Such is the tone and spirit of the work, that even those who cannot accept the Bishop's conclusions, may yet peruse it with pleasure and profit. "One of the most learned

Supper, a *feast on the sacrifice*, rather than *a sacrifice* itself" (p. 317). Bishop Gleig, though living in the South, was a Northern man, and also used the Scotch Office all his life.

* This was, perhaps, with scarce an exception, the view of the English Reformers. "Protestants of all shades of opinion were united in this one point, that the Mass should be turned into a Communion. The Mass was regarded as a sacrifice of our Lord for the quick and the dead; this the Reformers one and all denied; they maintained that it was a Communion through which the faithful were united unto God, and that the sacrifice was the offering of themselves, their souls and bodies to God's service, in common with the hosts of heaven".—Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops*. New Series, Vol. II., p. 150.

divines of the age," says Stephen, "remarked of this book that it reminded him so forcibly of the writings of the ancient fathers, that he could have imagined that they were still speaking." *

In the bringing out of the work the Bishop gave several striking proofs of the strength and permanence of his attachments. He dedicated it, not to any living friend, but "to the memory of Sir William Forbes, Baronet of Pitsligo," who had been dead a quarter of a century. It was thus that the dedication commenced:—"With the most profound veneration, and with the warmest feelings of my heart, I venture to inscribe this little Work, with the wish that it were more worthy of such a dedication, to the Memory of a Man whom in my mind I have uniformly classed with those righteous men, who, as divinely declared, shall be had in everlasting remembrance".

Mr. Pressley copied the manuscript of this work also for the press; and when thus employed the Bishop occasionally called upon him with some addition or emendation that had occurred to him. On such occasions he would enter the room with some such greeting as this on his lips—"More last words of Richard Baxter".

When Mr. Pressley's work was done, he said to the Bishop, "Now, Bishop, I'll give you my copy, and you'll give me yours". The Bishop readily complied, and Mr. Pressley still possesses the original MSS. When the work was printed, the Bishop also presented Mr. Pressley with a copy containing an inscription, which is yet more affectionate and characteristic than that in the copy of the Sunday Services.†

* *Stephen's History*, Vol. IV., p. 554.

† With kind regards, and grateful feeling of his aid at all times, and particularly his unwearied pains in transcribing for the press

In looking over the Bishop's letters at this time, and on to 1836, when he completed his eightieth year, it is impossible not to be struck with the healthy vigour and activity which he unceasingly displayed.

Though growing infirmities made him unfit for much bodily activity, of him it may be said with almost as much truth as it was ever said of any one, "Intentum animum tanquam arcum habebat, nec languescens succumbebat senectuti". He visits his diocese at the usual triennial period, though always in the autumn, as the hot weather was unfavourable to his "bilious habit". He keeps up an active correspondence with his Clergy, and any lay member of the Church who helped in the work of administration—as, for one instance, with the Duchess of Gordon, who, on the death of Mr. Buchan of Elgin in 1829, looked out a successor to him. He goes on eagerly reading and buying books; making application, for instance, for a copy of Bertram *On the Eucharist* in the original, though he had had a translation of the book in his possession for a long time; and with all this, he wrote for the press as he had never done in his best days.

It should be added that, after the manner of those days, he continued to take the most lively interest in any candidates for the Ministry belonging to his own congregation or diocese, addressing them as his "sons," and treating them with more than fatherly indulgence. There is now before the Writer a note (of date about 1833) to the Bishop by one of these candidates, then in his second year at College; and on the other leaf there is the scroll of an

and correcting it very carefully—this little book is most affectionately presented to the Rev. Charles Pressley, whom God ever bless and long preserve to promote the Glory of His Name in the faithful service of His Church.—ALEXANDER JOLLY, Fraserburgh, Nov. 19, 1831.

answer to it in the Bishop's own hand. The student addresses the Bishop as his "Right Reverend Father," and says that "having torn" a certain part of his best suit, he takes the liberty of asking the Bishop to supply him with the means of replacing it. On account of the circumstances of his father, he wants the matter concealed from him, and adds—"I have always been accustomed to speak my mind more freely to you than to my father". The Bishop replies thus:—"My very dear Son—My heart, which is daily with you, yesterday attended you in a more particular [manner] at the H. Altar. The Blessings and unspeakable Benefits there received He who purchased them for us by His blood, has taught us by the two words which he gave in charge that awful night, how we shall secure them against all the temptations of the enemy *γρηγορεῖτε καὶ προσεύχεσθε*. May His heavenly grace ever defend and guide you! My heart being firm, excuse my old hand! Accept the accompanying £3, which with great pleasure I present to [you]." The Bishop was occasionally deceived by a protegé; but such was his unsuspecting nature, that usually nothing short of the "plucking" of a student for his degree could open his eyes. Mr. Pressley mentions the case of one student to whom the Bishop occasionally sent a present of wine, to be taken in moderate daily doles, to support his health under the pressure of severe study; but who, on receipt of the wine, generally held high carnival on it with his fast friends, urging them to drink freely, as "the old boy would soon come down with a fresh supply".

The following extracts from his letters indicate his views on the topics and occurrences of the time, and especially on his own state, in the near prospect of eternity.

He was a good deal excited by the remark of a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for December, 1828 (p.

578), who referred to "the popish custom of turning to the east;" and writing February 20, 1829, to Mr. Bowdler of Eltham (Rector of Addington, Kent), he says —"If the decent custom symbolical of turning from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God, by faith in Christ, the Sun of Righteousness, be really popish, it exalts popish practice to a very high antiquity, ranked as it is by Tertullian among the immemorial church practices of his day". "But," he proceeds, "this is of minor consequence. Many more essentially important Doctrines and Practices of the truly Catholic Church . . . have been disused as popish, because the Church of Rome has grafted her corruptions upon them." He therefore urges Mr. Bowdler, if he cannot find time himself, to "excite some sound divine like himself" to write a book setting forth the true state of the case, as regards such practices—the work to be "very clear and strong in argument, but very meek and gentle in language," for the railing, fiery manner of some—in itself very blameable and disgusting—perfectly counteracts the intention".

On the death of Mr. Buchan in 1829, the congregation of Elgin came in rapid succession under the charge of two young English Clergymen,* with each of whom the Bishop corresponded pretty frequently, carefully explaining to them the peculiarities of the Northern system, so as to avoid misconstruction and dispel prejudice. To the former of the two, Mr. Boswell, he writes (January 10, 1831):—"In the Consecration Prayer, I confess that I change 'congregation' for what at the time of compilation that word really meant, and say, 'Regard, we beseech Thee, the supplications of Thy Church'".

* Messrs. Boswell and Cole.—Both seem to have been very delicate. The latter (Mr. Cole) "Went from Elgin to England and died there. Mr. Boswell died in India."

To Mr. Cole, who took Mr. Boswell's place when that gentleman's health gave way, he writes (July, 1831):—"Our Episcopacy is perfectly the same as that of England (Lord, mercifully preserve in every point that grand bulwark of the Reformation!) in point of spiritual power, but happily (shall I say) divested of all temporal honours. Our Liturgy [the Scotch Communion Office] you will find upon a little investigation to be altogether in the truly genuine spirit of the Reformation." Mr. Cole had addressed him as 'your Lordship,' but he writes him—"Never again think of Lordship when you write to me".*

With all his fervent attachment to his own Church, the Bishop had a deep love and reverence for the Church of England, and its noble army of erudite Divines, and he was greatly pleased by any mark of attention from a living English theologian. In a letter to Bishop Walker (Aug. 6, 1831), he mentions that his neighbour, Mr. Hagar of Lonmay, having been taken by his brother-in-law to the Bishop of Lincoln's visitation, was introduced to his Lordship, "who finding he was from this neighbourhood, con-

* The Bishops of the last generation, discouraged all such titles as the above—not, we may be well sure, from ignorance of all that could be urged in favour of their use from ecclesiastical precedent; but from reasons of policy and expediency which those who know Scotland best will most readily appreciate. They knew that times, circumstances, and the meaning of words change. 'Bishop' or 'your Reverence,' was the usual simple style of address in those days—varied sometimes perhaps in the Highlands by "your Righteousness". At Ballachulish Bishop Ewing was welcomed by a Quarryman with the greeting, "We always feel so strong, your Righteousness, when you are among us".—Ross's *Memoir of Bishop Ewing*, p. 144.

The Deans of last generation seldom took the title. Mr. Buchan, of Elgin, when Dean of Moray, desired Bishop Jolly not to style him Dean *on the outside* of a letter. The Bishop, in a letter to him of October 22, 1818, gives him the title at the close of the letter, and adds, "It is at your own desire that I omit your title on the outside".

descended to inquire about your servant, and desired Mr. Hagar to transmit his *affectionate regards*—no less, Mr. Hagar precisely said". Then he is always very anxious to have the devotional treatises of the old English Divines put upon the list of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and kept there. He writes to Mr. Bowdler (August 9, 1834), urging him to endeavour to procure a reprint by the Society "of Bishop Ken's feelingly-devout work upon the Catechism, which I think should ever stand upon their list, with his directions for prayer annexed. His piety is devoid of enthusiasm, giving light to the understanding, while it feelingly tends to kindle the heat of divine love in the heart, the perfecting and ever beatifically enduring sequel of Faith and Hope."

He had written with still deeper fervour on the subject eleven years previously. To Bishop Skinner (July 28, 1823) he says—"But now what you tell me of the venerable Society's rejection of good Bishop Ken's *Catechism of Divine Love* struck me very differently, and the intelligence, I must confess, has thrown a degree of heaviness into my heart. What can be exceptionable in the little work, which the heavenly man submitted entirely to the Church of England, and would have it no otherwise understood than as in perfect unison with her doctrine? Can it be the glow of devotional warmth which pervades the whole? But surely there is abundance of Light as well as Love; and a more lucid and logical, though short analysis of the Catechism, I do not know."

In a subsequent letter he speaks of the work as "the seraphic Bishop's heavenly exposition of the best Text Catechism in the world" (Nov. 18, 1823).

As he draws on to his eightieth year, the Bishop "most seriously and solemnly confesses and bewails" his

own sins and shortcomings, especially in letters to the clergy of his own diocese, whose prayers on his behalf he earnestly solicits.

Writing to Mr. Walker, Huntly (March 2, 1832) about a form of prayer for a Fast on account of the ravages of cholera he says—"May we not dread [lest the plague] as in similar cases may have its order to begin at the House of God? You and others exert yourselves to the utmost; but for my own part I most seriously and solemnly confess and bewail my great sloth and negligence in that sweet service of so infinitely kind and loving a Lord, and have sadly failed to testify by more diligent labour and industry amidst His flock my love to Him in return. I am not gloomy, I assure you, but seriously sorrowful when I reflect upon His forbearance towards me, even beyond the term of life, and desire to repent in dust and ashes for my manifold sins, errors, and negligence in His service—more especially in the season of penitence at hand, and while my short day of salvation by His mercy still lasteth . . I am greatly afraid that the clergy in general have to answer for the greater part of the sins of Christians. We watch for souls as they that must give an account. Lord, mercifully and graciously watch over us all, both clergy and people, without whose keeping we watch in vain."

To Mr Cruickshank, Muthil, he says (Feb 28, 1833)—"For my part I tremble when I think of *that day*, after so long a day during which He has borne with the deficiency of His wretched servant. But I throw myself upon His ever-enduring mercy; and, with my penitentials, say 'There is mercy with Thee, therefore shalt Thou be feared; although I am sometimes, afraid, yet put I my trust in Thee'. With such feeling I earnestly beg your prayers in my behalf."

To Mr Murdoch, June 10, 1833—"After so long a course during which He has borne with me, I do sadly lament that I have served Him so ill and loved Him so little. But His mercy accepts penitential love, and that I desire to make my daily exercise. Be instant in your daily prayers for me."

With equal penitential fervour did he pour out his confessions in private, as may be seen from the following scrap of diary found among his papers—

"March 17, 1831.—In the latter part of this day (the penult. of the 54th of my priesthood) I have been peculiarly uneasy under an unfavourable habit of my body. But the thought of my spiritual state (after so long experience of the divine forbearance and long-suffering) covers me with shame and sorrow, and confusion of face.

"19th.—Through the great mercy of my Saviour I celebrate the anniversary of my Presbyteration with composure, and I humbly trust in His grace that henceforth I shall be steadfast, immovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord—grant, O gracious Lord, for the glory of Thy name!"

A short diary of the Bishop's, which the present writer has not seen, was, says Mr Pressley, who had an opportunity of reading it, mostly taken up with confessions and bewailings of his own sins and shortcomings, particularly in the matter of *temper;* though, as Mr. Pressley says, he was to all outward seeming, the most placid-tempered of men.

It need scarcely be said that the great High Church revival of 1833, so far as it was developed during the Bishop's closing years, was such as to fill him with lively interest and satisfaction. The movement began where he ended. Yet there is scarce any notice of it in his letters

of the period. He was, in fact, getting too old and feeble to write more than was absolutely necessary. Some of the originators of the movement, however, knew and highly appreciated him. "The Bishop of Aberdeen," writes the Rev. A. P. Percival to Bishop Low, March 22, 1834, "conveyed to me melancholy tidings respecting the great and good Bishop of Moray (Dr Jolly). There is probably hardly an individual at present in existence, who will carry with him to his rest, love, esteem, and veneration to the degree in which they will accompany the Apostle of Moray. May God raise up among you many worthy successors to him."

The Bishop continued all his habits of life to the very last, especially his "work" in the systematic reading of the Holy Scriptures in the original languages, and his stated exercises of prayer and meditation. He also carried on the administration of his diocese—as far, at least, as was possible by correspondence. But for a journey, or any prolonged exertion, he was altogether unfit. It was high time, *solvere senescentem*, both in his case and in that of the Primus, who was three years older, and considerably more infirm. But there was no proper machinery for the purpose. The last work of these two leading Bishops had been to repeal the stated General Synod Act, which would have supplied their own deficiency of initiative. The Church, therefore, remained in a state of stagnation till May, 1837, when Bishop Gleig was persuaded to resign the office of Primus. It was to Bishop Jolly, as the senior Bishop by consecration, that the Primus sent in his deed of resignation, and the good man, who through the whole negotiations about the resignation, had counselled the utmost tenderness and consideration for the Primus, now wrote Bishop Torry that "it touched his heart to

receive the deed". It was thus a second time Bishop Jolly's office to make arrangements for the election of a Primus, but he was unequal to the effort. He wrote to Bishop Torry that he was "utterly unable to take any part, either of the head work or hand-writing at present," and so he requested him to arrange with Bishop Skinner for a meeting of the electors, exhorting that "love be our universal cement". It was his earnest wish that his friend, Bishop Walker, of Edinburgh, should be the new Primus, and so apprehensive was he lest through accident or infirmity he himself should fail to record his vote for his friend, that he may be said to have lodged his proxy separately with each of his other four colleagues. He had done so by letter at first, though not formally, with the retiring Primus, then formally with Bishop Torry, and "upon his silence" with Bishop Skinner, sending at the same time to Bishop Low a copy of his letter to Bishop Skinner. His letters, however short, are never mere business letters. "Thus studying and acting the things which make for peace and love," he says to Bishop Skinner, "the God of peace and love shall be ever with us." And his few sentences to Bishop Low conclude thus—"Lord, ever accompany all our steps in life and death, and bring us at length to rejoice in festivity eternal!"

The meeting for the election of the Primus was held at Aberdeen on May 24, 1837, and its result was what Bishop Jolly had so ardently desired. Bishop Low proposed Bishop Walker for the Primacy, and with the proxies of Bishops Gleig and Jolly carried him against Bishops Torry and Skinner, who dissented and voted *pro formâ* for each other. Other important business was done at the meeting. The Bishops agreed to suggest to their

absent colleagues the propriety of convening a General Synod for the amendment of the canons, their chief object being to obtain some canonical provision for the appointment of Coadjutor Bishops; and, as some time must elapse before the Synod could be convened, they further agreed to recommend to Bishops Gleig and Jolly to assent to the "free election" of coadjutors by the clergy of Brechin and Moray.

A recommendation under such circumstances was equivalent to an injunction; and so both Bishops yielded, and each signed a deed agreeing to the issuing of a mandate to his clergy empowering them "freely to elect a coadjutor and successor".

The deed which Bishop Jolly signed contained a condition which, whether laid down by himself or framed by his colleagues to meet his wishes, was, no doubt, known to be necessary to secure his signature. It was this—"While I expressly retain, however, my full rights and status as Bishop of Moray and minister of Fraserburgh as long as I live."

The feeling that dictated this condition will always command respect, if not sympathy. It is the touch of nature that makes all the superannuated kin—the last infirmity of unwordly minds. But in no case probably is it an unmixed infirmity. Its roots lie deep in the better part of our nature.

To him who had been forty years Bishop of Moray and fifty years minister of Fraserburgh, it was much to be permitted to die Bishop of Moray and minister of Fraserburgh. And so it was in the fullest sense. He remained to the last not only Bishop of Moray, but sole Bishop of Moray. No coadjutor was appointed to him; his colleagues, on further reflec-

tion, deeming it better that Moray should cease to be a separate see, and at the Bishop's death be re-united to Ross—an arrangement in which the Bishop himself fully concurred. Thus his compliance with the coadjutor arrangement led to no direct change in his own immediate sphere, but it was far from being without result. It facilitated the compliance of the Primus and the general re-arrangement of offices and dioceses which took place at this time. The Primus received as coadjutor Mr Moir, of Brechin. Glasgow diocese was disjoined from Edinburgh, and obtained for its Bishop Dr. Russell, of Leith. Fife was also separated from Edinburgh, and annexed to St. Andrews.

CHAPTER XII.—1837-1838.

Last year of his life—Feeble state of his health—His anxiety in prospect of a General Synod—'Message from the tomb'—Striking circumstances of his last hours—Death—Buried in his brother's grave at Turriff—Tablet to his memory in St. Congan's—Character.

THE good Bishop's work was now done. Only one year of life remained to him, and that, in his feeble state, was spent in almost unbroken retirement and inaction. As was usual with him, on the approach of a General Synod, "his heart trembled for the ark of God". Something "unepiscopal" and unprimitive might be done; and the risk was greater now that the State had, at last, in spite of all risks and dismal predictions, set the example of reform. But though his friend, Bishop Walker, was now at the head of affairs, and his own moral influence was unequalled, the Bishop could do but little. He issued an occasional note of warning in a short letter to a colleague, or in a message through a friend. It was chiefly with Bishop Walker* that he thus kept up communication; and that Prelate's account

*James Walker, the dearest and most intimate friend of Bishop Jolly, did not long survive his saintly colleague, having entered into his rest, March 5, 1841. He was born at Fraserburgh about 1770, and after passing through Marischal College, Aberdeen, he went under the auspices of a rich uncle to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A., M.A., and finally (in 1826), D.D. He returned to Scotland in 1793, and settled in Edinburgh, where he became (in 1807) incumbent of St. Peters, then rather a small charge. With his pastoral labours, however, Mr. Walker had always some literary, tutorial or professorial work conjoined. He became under Bishop Gleig, sub-editor of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (3rd edition), writing not a few valuable articles for that important work. Towards the end of last century he went abroad for two or

of his latter days is very interesting and affecting. "Within less than two years of his death," he says, "he wrote me that he was as eager at his books, and was able to enjoy his work, as he called it, with as high a relish as ever. . . With increasing feebleness, and occasional palpitations of the heart, his mind continued clear and unclouded to the

three years as tutor to Sir John Hope of Craighall, and appears to have visited all the chief countries of Europe. He was in Italy in 1801-2, and he spent also a considerable time in Germany, sojourning chiefly at Weimar, then the literary capital of that country, and mixing freely with the high and intellectual society of the place. He seems to have made an excellent use of his opportunities. When he came home he wrote an able article for the supplement to the *Encyclopædia* on the system of Kant. In the winter of 1817-18, he appears to have got as colleague in St. Peter's Mr. (afterwards Bishop) Terrot, and he then paid a second visit to Italy for the benefit of his health (see p. 95). After his return, he wrote a series of "Letters from Rome," giving at considerable length, the outcome of his impressions and experiences during both visits. These letters were published in the *Scottish Episcopal Magazine*—the first on Feb., 1820. Besides a volume of sermons published in 1829, when he resigned the charge of St. Peter's, Dr. Walker gave to the church a number of occasional sermons, pamphlets, charges, &c., all evincing sound theological learning, wide general culture, solid sense, and sober earnest piety. He was the first Pantonian professor of Theology. He was also Dean of Edinburgh, and like his successor in recent times, Dean Ramsay, he long held a position of unique and exceptional influence, not only in Edinburgh but also in the whole of the little Church. His Northern birth, English education, European culture, and great knowledge of the world, made him at home with men of all ranks, classes and districts; and before he was made a Bishop (1830), he probably wielded more influence than most of the Bishops. His word had great weight with the majority of the Bishops. To Bishop Sandford of Edinburgh he was for many years indispensable; noman had so much sway with Bishop Jolly; and in spite of some disagreements and misunderstandings, he continued to the last on intimate and friendly terms with Primus Greig, and Bishop Low. On the whole, though, from his valetudinarian habits, and tutorial experiences, he may have been, as Mr. Pressley said of him to the present writer, "rather much of the chaplain style of Clergyman"; the Church has had few dignitaries to whom she can point with more confidence, as being in so many ways helpful and creditable to her—both a *decus* and *tutamen*. Bishop Walker left two daughters; both of whom are still living.

last; and his anxiety for the church which he loved continued unabated. When it was determined to summon a General Synod in 1838, he expressed his anxiety repeatedly, in the short letters which he was then able to write; and when he was unable to use his own pen, he employed that of his assistant. I had besides a message through the medium of an excellent lay friend of the church, which now lies before me, dated and received the 29th of June, the very day on which the venerable man died. I transcribe it. 'The following is the substance of a conversation, which took place between Bishop Jolly and myself on Sunday, the 24th instant, when he requested me to express to you how glad he was to learn that your general health was good, and to say, that whenever you found it convenient, he should have much pleasure in hearing from you, although he was not now equal to the task of writing you in return. He hoped you would remember him in your prayers, which he never failed to do of you. "Tell him," he said, "I am dying, getting weaker and weaker; and I trust to his taking care that things are so managed at the ensuing Synod, that the principles of the Church may be preserved entire, and in no way infringed upon. I am more and more convinced of the awfully responsible situation of the clergy, and generally speaking (not excepting myself), I greatly fear they are extremely deficient, and fall far short of what they ought to be; and will have much to answer for." I took the liberty of remarking that if all the clergy performed their duty as he had done his, they might have confidence. Upon which he said, he had no confidence in anything, but the merits of our Saviour, and on these he solely trusted. "This day" (St. John Baptist's), he added, "is a day to be had in particular remembrance by me. It was on this day in 1796,

that I was consecrated at Dundee." I took down the above the same evening, and believe it to be correct.'" "It is an affecting message," adds Bishop Walker, "coming as it were from the good man's tomb, for it did not reach me till he was no more."

The Bishop's death was singularly in harmony with his life, so far, at least, as the manner of it was known to man, and though long looked and longed for, it was rather unexpected when at last it did come. A few days previously he had been worse than usual, Mr. Pressley says, but on the day before he was better. Mr. Pressley called upon him on the afternoon of that day, and conversed with him a considerable time; but nothing that he saw or heard led him to suppose that the end was near. The Bishop talked much, as usual, on any subject that turned up. There was a public dinner in Fraserburgh on that day in honour of the Queen's coronation. Mr. Pressley mentioned that he was on his way to the dinner, and as it was the eve of St. Peter's Day, the Bishop gently remonstrated with him on the impropriety of attending a feast on that day, which the Church had appointed to be kept as a fast.

Neither the Bishop himself, nor any one that saw him on that last evening, appears to have had any apprehension of immediate change. "He felt so well," says Mr. Pressley, "that he insisted on being left alone all night, after his attendant had put him to bed about nine o'clock." But though he was not expecting it, death could not find him unprepared. The last book which he had in his hands on that last evening was Sutton's *Disce Mori*,—'Learn to die'. "It was an art," it has been well said, "which he had been learning all his life long;" and never, probably, had the art been more fully mastered. There were "none

but God and good Angels to witness his departure".* When his attendant "returned in the morning about seven o'clock, he found him dead; but as the body was then quite warm, it was supposed that the soul had taken its flight about an hour before. He was discovered lying in the most placid and easy posture, with his hands folded across his breast, and from the serenity of his countenance it was quite evident that he had died without any struggle or convulsion." †

There appears to have been no doubt that he was conscious of the approach of death, and calmly prepared to meet it. Anyhow his attitude was that of solemn prayer, as if he had died in the very act of commending his departing soul to God. Bishop Walker, who knew him so well, was "disposed to believe" that this was the manner of his death, "and that he, who may be said to have prayed always, took his flight from earth to paradise in an act of that duty, which no man ever more fervently and faithfully

* Nothing of earthly mould must linger here,
Lest it should mar the comings on of sleep,
And break that solemn stillness grave and deep,
Where God, and his good Angels draw more near,
And that small Voice is heard which mortal ear
Cannot discern. Slumber, the hour doth steep,
And heaven is opening; Let no eye to weep,
Nor fleshy tongue be there, nor ear to hear
Divine Communions! Spirits of the good,
Come round him on the heaven-descended stair!
Martyrs and Fathers old and Saints be there.

—Williams' *Thoughts in Past Years*, p. 122 (2nd edition); "Death of the Bishop of Moray," &c.

† Other accounts give additional particulars—"He had been strong enough to close his own eyes, and draw over his face a small white napkin, which he had carefully kept under his pillow for some time, and which his attendant had noticed, though he could not guess what it was for, and did not like to ask. He had then crossed his hands upon his breast." (*Plain Sermons*, Vol. VII., pp. 284-5.) Similarly Dr. Donne, before he expired, closed his eyes with his own hands, and "disposed himself into such a posture, as required not the least alteration of those that came to shroud him".

performed from early youth to a late old age". And passing away thus, "communing with his own spirit," and pleading *alone* with God "in his chamber," "I am persuaded," he says, "that he died precisely as he wished". "There was nothing," he adds, "which the good man more disliked, than display in any Christian duty, but especially did he dislike it, though from the foolish officiousness of friends and attendants it is so common, in the hour of death. I have heard him express himself very forcibly on some lauded scenes of this kind,* which he justly thought most injudicious and most injurious to sound and sober Christianity, because in general they are made up by enthusiasm, urged on by various delusions, in which pure and practical religion has no part."

It might have been expected that the Bishop would have desired that his remains should rest at Fraserburgh, which had been so long his home, and his chief sphere of labour; but it was not so. He wished to be laid beside his brother James, in Turriff churchyard. It has been seen how deeply he was affected by the melancholy death of that beloved brother; and time never altogether healed the wound. He continued to visit his grave at intervals during his life, and on his last visit "anticipating that his living eyes would look upon it no more, he had plucked

* The reference here is doubtless to "Death-bed Scenes, &c.," by Dr. John Warton. The Bishop's sentiments regarding the demeanour suitable to a death-bed recall those of Archbishop Leighton —a prelate, whom in all the holy graces of character he so closely resembled. Leighton "used often to say, that if he were to choose a place to die in, it should be an inn, it looking so very like a pilgrim's going home, to whom the world was all as an inn. It was his opinion also that the officious care and tenderness of friends was an entanglement to a dying man, and that the unconcerned attendance of those who could be procured in such a place, would give less disturbance:—this wish was granted; it was at the Bell Inn, Warwick Lane, where he expired."

a portion of the rank grass growing on it, which after his decease was found in his escritoire, carefully wrapt in paper, and on it written, 'Grass from my brother's grave'—"All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness of it as the flower of the field—the grass withereth, the flower fadeth, but the word of our God shall stand for ever".*

Thus all that was mortal of the good man "sleeps in the churchyard" of Turriff. A handsome mural tablet was erected to his memory in the then Chapel at Turriff, and which may be now seen in the chancel wall of the present Church (St. Congan's). The tablet was "erected by his surviving sister," and this was not the only nor the most important service which Miss Jolly rendered to his memory at the time. Learning, after his death, that the Bishop had come under obligations on behalf of some of his poorer parishioners, which he did not live to discharge, she, at once, paid down the whole sum required, though it was by no means inconsiderable in amount.† The inscription on the tablet concludes thus—"Deeply learned in the ancient wisdom of the Church, he taught his flock to adhere to the old paths of Catholic and Apostolic truth; while, by a life of holiness, devotion, and self-denial, he gave to a declining age a pattern of primitive piety; living in a holy celibate, he renounced the world without forsaking its duties; devoting his days and nights to preparation for heaven, he conversed with God in retirement; and was taken to his rest when no mortal eye was near to witness his departing moments, having been found on the morning of the Feast of St. Peter, 1838, calmly reposing

* Mr. Cheyne's *Memoir*—Mr. Cheyne makes the Scripture quotation stop at field, but Mr. Pressley says it concluded as above.

† Though not living with the Bishop at Fraserburgh, Miss Jolly was continually doing little services for him.

in death. R.I.P. Born 1756, ordained Deacon 1776 and Priest 1777, consecrated 1796."

The reader has now—it is hoped—sufficient materials for forming a due estimate of the character of this saintly man. It was character, in the strict sense, that was his strong point—not learning, though he was very learned, nor talent, though he had "a clear head," and a "beautifully balanced mind".* He was a good rather than a great man. *Bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter.* That in which he excelled others is intelligible to all, and with God's help attainable by most.

The weight of his character was felt through the whole Church, but with different effect in the different departments. As has been seen in the course of the sketch, his influence was least beneficial in Canon making, because from his very cautious and conservative turn of mind; he was always prone to check rather than to forward or regulate a movement. There was small need for a *Cunctator* or drag, in those quiet unenterprising days.

In *administration*, however, the Bishop's character told on the Church, with great, and almost invariably with beneficial effect. His voice was always for peace and conciliation, and his word weighed like an argument. It was always spoken in love, and with a single mind; and hence his Colleagues were generally averse to oppose him, and anxious if possible to support him. Thus he was enabled to smooth the conduct of affairs, to mediate between persons and parties—to hold the balance of power, and earn for himself the blessing of the peacemaker.

Character has been a no less potent element in his influence through the press. Even more than his learning,

* Mr. Pressley's words to writer.

and in spite of his style, it has attracted readers to his works, North and South, and given a wide currency to his views. "Good Bishop Jolly's" opinions, especially on any primitive or practical question, must, it was thought, be just and edifying, and might be taken on trust.

After all, probably, the Bishop's character has seldom had full justice done to it. The highest excellences are so generally linked with corresponding defects, that by many, the existence of the defects is invariably assumed. It has been assumed in the case of Bishop Jolly. With his decided views on Church and Sacraments, and his very primitive mode of life, it has been taken for granted that he was narrow, formal, and intolerant—devoid of the true spirit of the gospel—"sinking all vital religion in the mere external and ceremonial part". Never, perhaps, had assumption less real foundation in fact. Every glimpse into Bishop Jolly's inner life, proves how carefully he distinguished between the means and the end—between the ceremonial and the spiritual—between the outward and the inward—between the Church and Christ—between that which saves and that which fits for salvation; and then how bright an example he ever set of charity, the crowning grace of the gospel! How singularly free he was from the usual besetting sin of the zealous and earnest—the indulgence of a bitter and intolerant spirit! The tone of his letters and the testimony of his most intimate friend, are alone conclusive in this point. As to personal religion—"A man more devoted to real practical religion," says Bishop Walker, "to that personal and progressive holiness, without which, no man shall see the Lord, and which he yet felt, as all who happily acquire it will feel, to be the gift of God's grace—than Bishop Jolly never, I believe, lived, and *I cannot even imagine.*"

Again, "I have said, and I fervently believe, that a purer Christian in every stage of life never breathed—yet I can as truly affirm on the most certain evidence, that in youth, in maturity, and in old age, while he was eagerly running the race set before him, he never for a moment relied on anything in himself. He pursued the course indicated with unabated assiduity, and blessed God at every step for the grace which prepared and aided his progress. But he felt in every stage of life, he felt habitually, that he was God's workmanship in Christ; and in the immediate anticipation, and as it were in the awful hour of death, he emphatically declares, 'I have no confidence in anything but the merits of our Saviour, and on those I solely trust'."

And as to his charity—"With all his exclusive attachment to his own Church, and to the forms and peculiar institutions of that Church, there was nothing in the slightest degree sectarian in Bishop Jolly's composition. The keenest scrutiny would never have detected anything sectarian in this good man's system, nor in his practice, nor in his most confidential conversation." Again: "With all his exclusive attachment to his own Church, I most sincerely believe that a mind of more extensive and expansive charity never existed in any human being".

It would be impossible to have better authority in regard to these cardinal points than Bishop Walker. It is clear that in matters of faith and Christian practice, Bishop Jolly's mind preserved a "beautiful balance". He was an example of a man who, in controverted matters, could be firm without being uncharitable, and charitable without being indifferent; a man who laid much stress on forms, without being a formalist, and was "careful to maintain good works," while he yet had "no confidence in any-

thing but the merits of the Saviour," on which "he solely trusted".

The reader who has gone patiently through even this very imperfect presentment of a unique life will confess that it is the life of a SAINT—the life of one of the very few, out of the many good, who are not simply pre-eminently good, but so good that a good man "cannot even conceive" a better—the life of one "who makes his religion absolutely and inflexibly, and in ways little familiar to his generation, the rule of his whole life"—* one who supplies an all but perfect example. One such life—one such example is a precious boon and inheritance to any church. May the little Church, which he loved so well and so greatly adorned, long continue to ponder the life and example, and reverence the spotless memory of ALEXANDER JOLLY.

* Let the reader substitute Jolly for Wilson in the following passage—to which the writer's attention has been called by Professor Dowden—and say if, by the substitution, the true and eloquent words do not become yet more emphatically true and eloquent. "There were many good men in Wilson's as in every age, whose lives have been all the more unnoticed because they were hid with Christ in God; but a saint is one who makes his religion, absolutely and inflexibly, and in ways little familiar to his generation, the rule of his whole life; and who with a perfect absence of all self-consciousness, does this in such a manner as to seize the imagination, and influence the character of his own and other generations. Berkeley and Butler were men of pre-eminent goodness, and men of a thousand times the ability of Ken and Wilson; yet we do think of Ken and Wilson, and we do not think of Berkeley and Butler as Saints of God".—Canon Farrar's *Classic Preachers of the English Church*, p. 132.

THE REV. CHARLES PRESSLEY, M.A.

THE REV. CHARLES PRESSLEY.

THE Reverend Charles Pressley, who is so often referred to in the preceding memoir, and to whom the memoir owes so much, was taken to his rest while the little work was passing through the press (Nov. 14, 1877). Mr. Pressley had attained to the ripe age of seventy and seven years, having been born in June, 1800. For the last two years of his life, however, he was entirely *ab agendo*—being quite incapacitated for duty and confined most of the time to his room, and much of it latterly to his bed, by a painful internal malady, which he bore with characteristic Christian patience and resignation, "looking unto Jesus". Mr. Pressley was, in all the essentials of his faith and practice, a most faithful representative of the "Old Episcopalian clergy"—the Jollys, Skinners, Gerards, and Rattrays. He was "brought up at the feet of Gamaliel," having, as the son of a member of St. Peter's, Fraserburgh, been watched over and tended in the Church's ways by Bishop Jolly from his earliest years, guided and directed by the same venerable prelate in all his studies and pursuits through school, college, and theological course, and then admitted by him to the sacred office of the ministry, and associated with him as long as he lived in the charge of St. Peter's. Thus the uniquely happy influence and example continued, not only through youth and early manhood, but well into middle life. Mr Pressley was only nineteen when he was ordained deacon. He

was nineteen years assistant to Bishop Jolly; and he held the charge of St. Peter's as incumbent for a little above twice nineteen years more. He continued, through all the vicissitudes of nineteenth century ecclesiastical opinion, to hold and teach the primitive principles instilled into him by Bishop Jolly, though in the application of them he was less stiffly and uncompromisingly primitive than the Bishop—more ready to submit to timely adaptations to altered circumstances, feeling that each age has its own particular "form and pressure". He followed his revered master also faithfully, though not indeed *passibus aequis*, in all the high essentials of his practice. He did not, as is too often the case with ardent disciples, aim chiefly at copying that which was striking and singular in his master's example. On the contrary, his imitation was limited mainly to the higher and more solid graces—such as charity, humility, meekness, gentleness, patience, tolerance. Very few Christian men probably ever wore more steadily than Mr Pressley "the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit," or more uniformly followed "after the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another". But his chief characteristic was humility. In this, if possible, he even surpassed his very humble master himself—ever keeping in the background, ever seeking to efface himself and hide his light under a bushel. He thus seldom did justice to his sound judgment and solid acquirements. He had, as it were, to be dragged to the front. This was done sometimes; for though Mr. Pressley scarcely ever opened his mouth in a Synod or any public meeting, he was at least twice chosen to represent the diocese of Moray, and once to represent the diocese of Aberdeen in the General Synod, when there was only one diocesan representative.

Mr. Pressley resembled the Bishop farther in that he belonged rather to the studious and meditative than to the active class of pastors. Like the Bishop also, he was rather too fond of studious retirement—too apt to be absorbed in meditation and lettered ease—but he never, like the Bishop, appears to have carried his retirement to quasi-monkish seclusion. He always kept up a suitable establishment, and was social, hospitable, and easy of access. He married (Sept. 19, 1842) Miss Mary Collie, a Turriff lady, and his married life was happy in every respect except in the brevity of its duration. Mrs. Pressley died March 3rd, 1849, leaving her disconsolate husband with the charge of four children, two of whom survive, a son, a settler in Australia, and a daughter who was the great comfort of her father's declining years.

It will be seen from the memoir of Bishop Jolly how cordially and efficiently Mr. Pressley co-operated with the good man; and how warmly and affectionately the Bishop testified to this fact, and also to Mr. Pressley's general faithfulness in the discharge of his official duties.* He writes often in the same eulogistic strain of Mr. Pressley in his unpublished letters to the clergy of his diocese, and in other communications which were never meant for Mr. Pressley's eye. The truth is, that to a man of the Bishop's habits and temperament such an assistant as Mr. Pressley—so mild, so gentle and unassuming, so ready to defer not only to his superiors, but even to his equals—was an unspeakable comfort, and contributed greatly to the happy literary activity of the good man's latter years. Mr. Pressley not only abstained from worrying his peace-loving principal by opposition and contradiction, as too

* See [Chap. xi.] the inscriptions in the presentation copies of the Bishop's works.

many young assistants would have done, but in many ways he every day soothed and supported him, and, as has been shown in the memoir, gave him valued literary help.

Mr. Pressley was a great lover of home and of the quiet round of daily duties, and seldom, except at the annual synod, slept a night out of his own house. Latterly, however, till incapacitated by illness, he moved about a good deal more than in his earlier days amongst his clerical brethren, having become a member of an association of them who met in turn at each other's parsonages, partly for the discussion of professional topics, partly for a friendly interchange of thought and experience on things in general. These meetings Mr. Pressley sometimes made a great effort to attend; and latterly, when growing infirmities made it inconvenient for him to leave home, he prevailed upon his brethren to hold a meeting at his house occasionally, whether it was his turn or not. The brethren were only too happy to comply. They were always anxious to secure his attendance at a meeting, so highly did they venerate his character and value the influence of his mild wisdom. His manner alone was a lesson to his younger brethren. Whether he said little or much, the tone in which he said it, and the spirit which manifestly prompted his words, were always of most excellent example and influence.

Some of the anecdotes with which Mr. Pressley used to enliven these meetings with his brethren gave occasionally a vivid impression of the peculiar ways and customs of churchmen towards the end of last, and the beginning of the present century. One story, which he had often heard Bishop Jolly relate, illustrated a peculiarity of old Scotch pronunciation. The Bishop consulted Principal Campbell, of Marischal College, Aberdeen (obiit. 1796), about the

best books for the elucidation of a certain subject. Amongst others the Principal mentioned one work, but added, "It is of no *autority*, however". This pronunciation, the Bishop said, was not uncommon amongst the elderly men of that period. Possibly it was a relic of the French connection.*

When the Rev. W. F. Hook (afterwards the Dr. Hook of Leeds and the Dean Hook of Chichester) as a young man went to Fraserburgh in 1825 to visit Bishop Jolly, Mr. Pressley was introduced to him, and was with him during most of his visit. Mr. Hook refused to preach in St. Peter's, but read prayers, and Mr. Pressley was rather disappointed in his reading. When he left, Mr. Pressley accompanied him to the coach, and on their way Mr. Hook chanced to mention that one of his godfathers had presented him with a book, on the title page of which he had written a passage in Greek, which struck Mr. Hook as being very interesting and appropriate, and he was very anxious to know whence the passage was taken. He was greatly pleased, and rather astonished, when Mr. Pressley told him on the spot where the passage might be found and who was the author of it. In telling this interesting reminiscence (to the writer of this notice), Mr. Pressley deprecated all idea of his being familiar with the whole of the writings of the Greek author in question. He just happened to remember this passage. But it is known that he happened to remember other telling passages at the

* Another peculiarity, the opposite of the French, was—The writer was assured by the late Colonel F——, quite common in his younger days in Scotland, viz., the insertion of a vowel between the *g* and the *n* in such a word as *dignitas*. Hence, he said, Lord Erskine's punning remark to a friend, who found him digging in his garden, that he was enjoying his "*otium cum dignitate*," had far more point to a Scotchman of those days than it has to the present generation, being pronounced "*otium cum diggin-i tate*," or "*diggin-a-tate*."

critical moment. An intimate friend* of his has described to the writer how completely Mr. Pressley on one occasion astonished and disconcerted a friend, who was bantering him on the unrivalled merits of a recent eloquent address of a certain public speaker, by taking down a book, and reading from it the identical admired production, word for word, making it perfectly clear that the only original thing in the address was a single epithet, indicative of the speaker's peculiar views, which was dragged in at every opening, and gave a sort of colour to the whole. From the description the exposure must, in its quiet way, have been as complete and effective as Father Prout's exposure of the real source of the "flood of Thier's" which a brilliant rhetorician poured out in the House of Commons over the death of the Duke of Wellington.

The salaries of the clergy in those days, though generally very small, were often greater than they seemed. The money stipend seldom represented the whole income from the congregation. There were payments in kind; solid presents at certain stated periods; and not unfrequently, when a bachelor, the clergyman almost lived in the houses of the members of his congregation, passing from one to the other, and staying a week or two with each. To a great extent this was the case with Bishop Low till a late period in life. Sometimes there was a regular arrangement amongst the well-to-do members as to how long—so many weeks or months—the clergyman should remain with each. This happened at Ellon during the first year of the incumbency of the late Mr. Grieve.

Sometimes the clergyman had a small farm on easy terms, which, if he was a good manager, added greatly to

* The Rev. Alexander Low, Longside, who had the whole particulars of the incident from Mr. Pressley himself.

his comfort. A genius like the Rev. John Skinner of Linshart apparently found farming as unprofitable* a business as his brother poet and correspondent Burns. It was otherwise with a man who understood farming, and who "laboured, working with his own hands," like Mr. Cruickshank of Kinharrachy who, according to an old woman who had been a member of his congregation, "quarried steens a' the week an' thunnert oot o' the pu'pit on Sunday, like a pratty chiel". The clergy had not only, in addition to their regular duty, to give frequent occasional service in vacant neighbouring charges; but many of them held constantly two or more small charges—such as Meldrum and Chapelhall—Chapelhall and Bernie (now the united congregation of Ellon).

The usual condition of the clergy in those days being that of "honest poverty," their poverty was no discredit to them in the eyes of the people, but on the contrary rather a positive recommendation. In proof of this the late Mr. Grieve, of Ellon, used to tell an interesting anecdote.†

During last century a young clergyman, with a dash in his character of the improvidence of genius, married before he had obtained a charge or any home to take his wife to. He came to Oldmeldrum "with ten shillings in his pocket;

* See his "Letter to a friend":—

prepared am I,
And now resolved another course to try:
Sell corn and cattle off; pay every man;
Get free of debts and duns as fast's I can;
Give up the farm with all its wants, and then,
Why, even take me to the book and pen.

† The writer has received a trustworthy account, or at least the fullest confirmation of this and all the other anecdotes connected with the Ellon district from the Rev. George Sutherland, Wick, who had them all, and a great many more, from the late Rev. Mr. Grieve, and from aged members of St. Mary's, Ellon.

took a room in the Cowgate; bought a firlot of meal and a barrowful of peats, which latter he wheeled home himself." Just at that time "The Bishop of Aberdeen held a synod or some other meeting of the clergy, at which he was lamenting the want of clergy, and especially the difficulty of finding a fit person to fill a certain important charge, which for some reason (probably the burden of a superannuated incumbent) could at the time offer but a very small salary. On this "the incumbent of Meldrum said that there had lately come to that place a very clever young man, apparently in every way fitted for the charge in question; but he was very poor, and had a young wife to support." "He's the very man for the place!" said the Bishop, "he knows what poverty is, he has learnt to endure hardness, and he will patiently put up with the small salary." Thus, through the recommendation of poverty, the right man was speedily got into the right place, and continued for long "a burning and a shining light" in the Church.

Poverty seldom stood between a reading clergyman and books. One well-known hard reader of the generation between Mr. Skinner and Mr. Pressley—"an Israelite, indeed, in whom there was no guile"—used always, when he had occasion to go to Aberdeen (nearly 20 miles distant), to walk there and back, book in hand. On one of those occasions his too confiding wife entrusted him with the sum of three pounds, which she had "scraped together" to buy a carpet. The good man took the money, read his way to Aberdeen, entered an old bookshop, invested every farthing of the three pounds and all the other loose money in his pocket on some tempting volumes, and then walked home again, borrowing eighteenpence at the neighbouring village to pay a man to wheel his books home in a barrow

from the carrier. Arrived at home, he felt the gravity of the situation. He did not dare to face his wife, all-expectant of a new carpet, with nothing but a barrowful of old books! He therefore deposited the books in an outhouse: then he went into the house and got the dreaded interview over as well as he could, chiefly by judicious silence, saying little about the carpet and nothing at all about the books. These he afterwards smuggled into the house volume by volume, so as not to attract attention. He got no more such commissions, however.

The clergy of those times were not, of course, all hard readers or accomplished scholars. Most of them, indeed, were graduates of Aberdeen, and generally, at least, fair scholars; but some there were who had been but imperfectly educated, and had but little taste for pen and book-work. These were not greatly given to burn the midnight oil in painful preparation for pulpit exercises. They found a royal road to their object; and there were certain works very popular about the beginning of this century which, if they could, they would probably have placed in an "index expurgatorius" for the laity; such as the sermons of Bishop Horne and Jones of Nayland, and Stanhope's Commentaries on the Epistles and Gospels. Of Mr. Cruickshank of Kinharrachy it is said that his "great quarry for sermons was Romaine," but doubtless this was an entirely exceptional case. Of the risks attending such "quarrying" Mr. Pressley had some good anecdotes, of which the following is a specimen:—

Thirty years ago an aged clerical neighbour of his—an excellent man, but one who had been bred to a different profession—used to tell with great glee (the writer once heard him) a compliment which he received from a farmer of his congregation one Monday morning. He met the

farmer on the road, and after the usual greeting, the latter said, "Yon was a fine sermon you gave us yesterday, Mr. H——". "I'm glad you liked it, John." "Aye, sir, Bishop Horne writes capital sermons. I happened to read that one the Sunday afore. Ye couldna preach better sermons than Bishop Horne's, sir. I'm aye glad when ye gie's ane o' his."*

The above compliment was paid in good faith, and with the utmost seriousness and gravity. In truth it appeared from some anecdotes which Mr. Pressley told as if some of the congregations in the olden time disliked, rather than preferred, a spice of originality and freshness in their pulpit pabulum. A clergyman of the Stonehaven district, who had in early life been chaplain and tutor in the Arbuthnot family, had, in those days of comparative leisure, thrown his whole mind and strength into the composition of a set of four Advent sermons, with which, when finished, he was himself so well satisfied that when he got a church it seemed as if he would never tire of delivering them. He went on preaching them to his people every year as Advent came round, season after

* The practice above referred to has no doubt been more or less prevalent among preachers at all times. One of the most trying situations resulting from it occurred in a case which was related to the writer about 25 years ago, by an elderly gentleman, who as a boy was a witness of it. The minister of a parish on Donside had as usual a service in the kirk on New-years Day, and preached an appropriate sermon to a congregation, which included the family from the mansion house, where the minister dined in the evening. After dinner the lady of the house, according to her usual custom on 'Church days,' asked her husband to read a sermon to the family circle. He took the book and naturally selected a sermon with the heading 'for New-year's day'. He read the text—it was the same as the minister's in the forenoon—nothing wonderful in that; he proceeded with the sermon—that also, however, was the same, sentence for sentence, word for word, from beginning to end. The confusion of the whole party was great; and the prolonged agony of the minister may be conceived.

season, without a single break, till at last they became a weariness to himself. The style got stale and antiquated; it "made him an old man," and he determined upon change. He put forth another great effort. He wrote a fresh series of Advent sermons, and delivered them with fresh life and vigour. The people, however, were more astonished than gratified by this unexpected outburst of energy; and they did not conceal their feelings. A deputation of them waited on their pastor and, in the name of the congregation, besought him not to preach again those new and strange Advent sermons, but to stick to the old ones which they had heard so often and "kent so weel"!

One clergyman at least of those times, of whom Mr. Pressley knew a great deal, seems to have confined himself for years and years to the use of a single set of sermons, not for four Sundays, but for all the fifty-two Sundays of the year, insomuch that his older hearers came to know beforehand every Sunday what they would hear from the pulpit, as well as what they would hear from the desk, and might be heard discussing the sermon of the day on their way to church as well as on their way from it. And much amusement was caused in the congregation when a new member, lately returned from the colonies, took it into his head one day that "the minister was preaching at him!"—preaching at *him*, a stranger, in words which had been preached twenty times in the same pulpit in twenty years!* The reader will see that these

* The writer has heard of some cases of a like nature in other churches. A thoroughly trustworthy friend was present when the following colloquy took place at the door of a Deeside Parish Church one Sunday morning, about thirty years ago, between two men, one of whom had not been at church the previous Sunday:—"What is't that we get to-day, John? The dog?" (meaning a sermon on the text, "Is thy servant a dog?") "Na, min, we got *him* last Sunday."

anecdotes all illustrate a different state of things from the present. Most of the incidents were doubtless rare and exceptional at the time. But they were *possible* then. Few of them would be possible now.

From what has been said of his humble and retiring disposition it may be understood that Mr. Pressley was very averse to give any of his productions to the world through the press; and, in fact, as far as the present writer knows, the funeral sermon which he preached on Bishop Jolly was the only thing that he ever published. Much that was of interest to the Church has died with him. Many of those who knew him well had but an imperfect idea of the extent of his acquirements in several subjects; and not the least in that of music. "The hymn 'Jesus lives—no longer now can thy terrors, death, appal us,' which was sung at Mr. Pressley's grave, was a favourite one of his, and was sung to a tune composed by himself. Mr. Pressley was distinguished for his thoroughly scientific knowledge of music, which was only equalled by the purity of his musical taste." He may be said to have introduced among his fellow-townsmen the cultivation of the higher branches of the art, and, in recognition of his services in this direction, when the Fraserburgh Musical Association was established in 1869 he was unanimously elected its honorary president, and continued to hold that office till his death. "In addition to some musical instruments of rare value and great age, he has left behind him one of the most extensive and valuable libraries of musical works in the North."*

Mr. Pressley was not only beloved and venerated by his own congregation, "among whom" he had so long "gone preaching the kingdom of God"; he was also, as

* *Scottish Guardian*, Dec. 14, 1877.

may be gathered from the above extract, highly respected by his townsmen of all denominations. This was proved in a way that was very gratifying to his friends, when the Church's last office was performed for him. His funeral was attended not only by the Bishop and a large proportion of the clergy of the diocese, but also by the whole of the leading men of the town and neighbourhood; while all the shops were shut and the town's bells tolled. Between them, Bishop Jolly and he, held the charge of St. Peter's for close upon ninety years. The memory of both will long continue fragrant in the remote borough on Kinnaird's Head.

ABERDEEN:
PRINTED BY A. KING AND COMPANY.

IN THE PRESS, BY THE SAME WRITER,

THE LIFE OF

THE RIGHT REVEREND GEORGE GLEIG, LL.D.,

BISHOP OF BRECHIN,

AND

PRIMUS OF THE SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

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Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018